

R. Newman

LETTER

TO

Mr. Archdeacon EACHARD:

Wherein are some

REMARKS

ON THE

STUARTS Family

AND

Archbishop LAUD.

*O Pater Orbis !
Unde nefas tantum Latius Pastoribus ?*

By a Country Layman.

L O N D O N :

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Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard*, &c.

Without any Preamble, I'll tell you in short the Reasons inducing me to write the following Lines: About three Years ago Dr. *Calamy's* Letter to you came to my Hands; its Stile is certainly like that of a Gentleman and learned Divine; but, as he said, *some I know will think I have been too tender:*

So indeed he is, having been so much provoked by the spiteful and untrue Character you have given of his Grandfather, with many other pious and loyal Gentlemen and Divines. Besides the Doctor, I find Monsieur *Mazeaux*, a learned Frenchman, the Author of the Ten Letters; and my ingenious Kinsman, Mr. O——, in his *Critical History*, Vol. 2. have in good earnest taken you to task for your many Self-contradictions, Inconsistencies, Partialities, and Mistakes (which others call Falshoods). To Mr. O—— at least I refer you and my Reader.

You boast of your Impartiality, and justly commend it in an Historian; but, *video meliora proboque*, you know what follows; and what a wise King says, *Let another Man praise thee and not thine own Mouth*. Sir R. Baker, in his Chronicle of our Kings, and Lord Clarendon, have not been so very partial as you in your Accounts of Persons and Things, a flagrant Instance whereof is your telling us and Posterity of

Mary's Piety, Devotion, &c. with as much Truth might you say the same of her Executioner *Bonner*; they both burnt Hundreds of all Sexes and Ages; eight Hundred, Bishop *Grindal* saith; were burnt in two Years; five Bishops, twenty-one Divines, eight Gentlemen, two Boys, one Infant, whom the Fire forced from the burning Mother's Womb, sixteen perished in Prisons, twelve buried in Dunghills, hundreds fled beyond Sea. Mr. *Hales*, her Contemporary, in his Oration more truly saith, *if any Man will set forth all that has been done these five Years by this unnatural Woman; a Monster and a Devil, cover'd with the Shape of a Woman; &c.* Did you ever read *The Book of Martyrs*, Sir? Betwixt your *Mary* and the glorious Protestant Queen *Elizabeth* you make an odious Comparison, a Jesuit never made a worse: **Mary made Martyrs, Elizabeth made Beggars; one executed the Men, t'other the Estates, &c.* Whether the resuming *First-Fruits and Tithes*, &c. was not more prejudicial than *Fire and Faggot*? Whether the destroying *Bishopricks* was not a much greater Handship than the destroying *Bishops*? A more spiteful and senseless Parallel you have hardly met with in all your Reading: What, did *Elizabeth* destroy *Bishopricks*, who left 'em from about 3 or 400 l. a Year up to 1000, 1500, 2000, 3, 4, and 5000 l. a Year? But you copy after *Heylin* and his fellow Chaplain *Pocklington*, who in his *Altare Christianum* saith, *The Martyrs that suffered in Queen Mary's Days were schismatical Rebels, Hereticks, factious Fellows, Traytors, condemn'd by holy Church*, p. 92. In God's Name, of what Church was this Fellow and his Master? *Roman* or *Reform'd*, or of the amphibious kind. Many Years ago I saw in a Bookseller's Shop, at the Title Page, this under written, *Si mortuus mordeat, Mortuus mordeatur*. *Heylin* was the barking Cur that was meant; many more such there were of that persecuting Faction, namely, *Wren*, *Montague*, *Sibthorp*, *Manwaring*, &c. Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, who did cruelly bite good Protestants, and devour their Flocks.

Of that lewd *Messalina*, Mother of our *James I.* who by the repeated Addresses of Queen *Elizabeth's* Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, was executed for conspiring to assassinate her; you say, she died like a Christian and like a Queen, and supported her Character with all imaginable Decency;

* *He that saith to the Wicked thou art righteous, him shall the People curse.*

Deceit; so you know did many who were executed for High-Treason; so did her own Grandson and *Laud*; therefore if 'twill please you, I'll own, all three were alike Martyrs. But of that truly Christian King *Edward VI.* the Wonder of his Age, you give a vile Character, saying, *his Conscience was not always under a serviceable Direction*: By this obscure Suggestion, the pious King's good Name is assassinated in the dark. Again, he was tinctured with *Erastian* Principles, and under wrong Prepossessions as to Church Government. Yes, yes, his Father and bloody Sister govern'd the Church better when they burnt so many Hereticks, as *Laud's* Chaplain calls them. His Brother *Heylin* too (after whom you copy) says in a Preface; *I reckon it no Infelicity to the Church of England, that Edward VI. was taken away by an immature Death [and that Mary, more zealous for the Church, succeeded him.]* In his Preface to the *Sabbath*, now before me, dedicated to *Charles I.* he tells him; *Yet so it is, your Majesty's most Pious and most Christian Purpose hath not found answerable Entertainments.* No, God be praised, the impious and unchristian Book of Sports on *Lords Days*, viz. Morris-Dances, May-Games, &c. Many Hundred conscientious Ministers, rather chose to be suspended or deprived of their Livings, than to read it in the House of God, and so far encourage Prophaneness.

In attempting to undeceive some Party-men, who still retain an undue Respect for the *Stuart* Family, I'll here acquaint 'em, That the first of that House was the Bastard Son of *William Rufus*, from whom, to *James V.* of Scotland, I know nothing remarkable of them. His Queen was *Mary*, Daughter of *Claude of Lorraine*, the first Duke of *Guise*; their Daughter was *Mary*, Mother of our *James I.* of England. These two *Scots Marys*, and our *English Mary*, the great Incendiary, may be called the three *British Furies*; as *Mary Di Medici*, Grandmother to our *Charles II.* and two more, were called the three Furies of *France*.

The Reason why *Charles I.* at his Marriage, chose so mean a Person as the Duke of *Chevereaux* for his Proxy, was because the King and he were both extracted from the *Guises*, the most bloody Persecutors that ever lived in the Christian World; by one of them, and his Faction, two Millions of Souls were devoted to Destruction. *Adam: Collig. Life*, p. 335. No Wonder then that a Hatred of, or a Disaffection to the best Protestants seem'd hereditary to our *Stuart* Princes.

King *James's* Mother *Mary* [you know, Sir,] went to *France*, and was there married to the *Dauphin*, who quickly

ly left her a young, lusty, lustful Widow. The *Scots* Ambassadors there were by the *French* moved to procure the *Scots* Crown for the *Dauphin*; at which they demurring, soon return'd homeward; but before they came to *Dien*, somewhat had been given them, which proved to one Bishop, four Lords and Earls, very fatal, who all died there in one Night, and only three came home alive. Queen *Mary* came back to *Scotland*, falls in love with and marries Lord *Darnley*, yet kept in reserve Seignior *David*, an *Italian* Musician, which so provoked the King her Husband, that coming into the Room where she and Seignior were, he drags out and kills *David*. Soon after Queen *Mary* was delivered of our King *James*, *Mali corvi*, *malum ovum*, and so downwards. Not long after, *Bothwell*, her other Spark, by her Consent doubtless, murder'd the King; and as a Reward of his good Service, she makes him an Earl. And to be rid of his Wife, who stood in her Way, she gets a Divorce, on some frivolous Pretences, from the Pope, and then marries the Man that had killed her Husband; for she was desperately in love with him, says a learned Papist.

Now then, Mr. Archdeacon, was this your Heroine, St. *Mary*, for these great Actions, worthy to be recorded in your fine History? Did she die like a Christian, who liv'd like a Goat, and died like an unnatural Monster? for not many Hours before her Death, she disinherited her only Son, by an Instrument in Writing, giving *Scotland* to *Spain*, if *James* did not renounce the Protestant Religion. Who was his Father, we find it difficult to give an Account, whether Lord *Darnley*, *Bothwell*, or the *Italian* Fidler, says our Author. And consequently, who was the Grandfather of *Charles I.* and so downwards in this Family; such Uncertainties and Doubts doth an hereditary Right alone sometimes create. 'Twas a smart Repartee which the *French* King *Henry IV.* made to a *British* Lord, who compar'd his Master *James* to *Solomon* for Wisdom: What, said *Henry*, I hope he is not *David the Fiddler's Son*. At first reading I thought he had reflected on King *David*; but soon perceiv'd 'twas Seignior *David* he meant.

The *Scots*, after the Murder of their King, came to the Queen with all dutiful Respect; whom she ask'd why they came to her thus arm'd? They reply'd, 'twas to bring *Bothwell* to condign Punishment for his murdering the King her Husband; but she justified him, saying, he had done all by her Consent; which so provok'd 'em, that they all cry'd out, *Then, Madam, you shall be our Prisoner*: But she afterwards

wards got out of their Hands; and, at length fled into England. James her Son reign'd then in Scotland; a sagacious Prince, you say, yet for many Years he corresponded with his Kinsmen, the bloody *Guises*. The French Faction reign'd at his Court, where he govern'd by Parties; but never fell in with the Right. In one of his Letters to the Pope, he subscribes, *Beatitudinis tue Obsequentissimus filius*. At Hampton Court the Bishops flatter'd him as much as he did the Pope. Archbishop *Whitgift*, a zealous Persecutor, told him to his Face, That he spake by the special Assistance of God's Spirit, having employ'd his royal Pen always on Subjects worthy of a Prince, viz. *A Paraphrase on the Revelations; A Counterblast on Tobacco; Love Letters to Carr or Buckingham*. What *Whitgift* strove to effect with Sweetness [you say] *Bancroft* prosecuted with Rigour and Severity. This is very true; but the first is not so, as Dr. *Fuller* in his *Ecclesiastical History* tells us; for to conscientious Ministers, for whom the Privy-Council, &c. did intercede, he was inexorable, yet not so bad as *Bancroft*, whose Morals were said to be bad enough.

At that Conference, Dr. *Reynolds* and his Colleagues desiring some Amendment in Discipline, as to Lay-Chancellors, &c. were threatned at last by the King (whose Wrath, 'tis said, is as Messengers of Death) that he would make 'em conform, or hurry 'em out of the Land. Besides the King, you reckon, p. 25. nine Bishops, seven Deans, &c. and three or four Complainers; a very unfair Dealing, both as to the Disparity of Number and Quality. But a greater Hardship afterwards was put on these; for of this Conference Dr. *Fuller* saith to this Effect; The Bishops, in their Relation of it, serv'd the Non-Cons as the domineering *Philistines* did the oppressed *Israelites*, whom they forced to carry down to them their Coulters and Axes to be sharpened, which you may be sure they did but by halves; but took care to put a good Edge on their own, as the Bishops did on their Arguments; blunting or suppressing Dr. *Reynolds's*, who for his Learning and infinite Reading was said to be a walking Library. At his Sickness he was visited by the Heads of Colleges, &c. who desired him to remit his indefatigable Labours, and not, *Perdere substantiam propter accidentia: Nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*, replies the brave Man. *Bancroft* too (you know, Sir) was his Successor, who furnish'd out a new Church-Artillery, and with his heavy Cannons batter'd many Churches; out of which many hundred conscientious Ministers were driven by *Ipso facto* Excommunications;

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nications; and some of them (as King *James* threatened) hurried out of the Land, whilst care was taken that Papists (by Canon 66) should by the Bishops Persuasion and Instruction, and all good Means, be reclaim'd.

To *Gundamore* in *Spain*, a Papist wrote, that their Priests were at liberty, but Protestant Ministers in Prison; and Pulpits, &c. forbad to meddle with the popish Match with *Spain*.

~~O Pater orbis~~

~~Unde nefas tantum Latius Paparibus?~~

Now to take off the Subjects Eyes from observing King *James's* Indulgence to Papists, a Quarrel was reviv'd with the Puritans (saith his Contemporary) all the consciencious Men in the Nation shared in the Contempt; which being over-press'd with Monopolies, Privy-Seals, and Forfeitures, grew feeble; *English* Subjects were cheated, and almost all spent on the *Scots*, who for want of honest Traffick did extract Gold out of *Englishmens* Faults, whose Pardons they bought and sold at intolerable Rates, Murder it self not excepted. Nor was the King's Love (or what Posterity will please to call it) carried on with a Discretion sufficient to cover a more scandalous Sin; for the King kissing *Carr* and *Buckingham* in so lascivious a Manner, and in publick, prompted many to imagine some Things done in the *Tiring-Room*, that exceed my Imagination. Those two Gentlemen were so very handsome as to merit his Love, which I've heard Sir *H. Rich* refused on such Conditions as the former accepted. A modern Writer of *Buckingham's* Life saith, since the King could not live without a *Minion*, some Lords presented *Villiers*, not then so insolent as his former Sweetheart *Carr*, who being in the Flower of the King's Favour (before he had a Wife or Beard) got from him a peremptory Order to the Treasurer for 5000 *l.* more valuable than 10000 *l.* now.

If we judge of his Politicks by the Success, never was a Prince on the *English* Throne who less deserv'd to have King-craft ascribed to him. His new Darling of twenty-two was made Privy-Counsellor, Garter-Knight-Admiral, &c. He, *Digby*, *Arundel*, *Worcester*, *Weston*, &c. Papists, with *Calvert*, were his Advisers to make a Peace with *Spain* (almost as scandalous and prejudicial to *England*, as that with *France* in 1713.) He was so much imposed on by *Gundamore*, that in a Letter to *Lerma*, *Gundamore* boasted he had lull'd the King so fast asleep with *Spanish* Gold, and the Pretences of a Match; that neither the Cries of his only Daughter

Daughter and her Children, nor the Intreaties of his Parliament and People should be able to awake him ; his Partiality to the beggarly *Scots* made him no higher than a King-in-law. *Sardanapalus* was not more effeminate, nor *Tiberius* more skill'd in Diffimulation.

At Sir *Walter Rawley's* Expedition to *Guiana*, the King order'd him to give in a List of his Ships, Men, what Countreies, Rivers, &c. he would search ; which on the Word of a King he promised to keep secret : Yet did Sir *Walter's* Men find this very List in the *Spanish* Governor's House at *St. Thomas's*, when they took it. As the Idolaters of old used to sacrifice their choicest Children to *Satan* ; so our King sacrificed that incomparable Statesman, Soldier, and Historian, to the Revenge of that cruel *Moloch*, the King of *Spain*, for pretended, superannuated Treason seventeen Years before. His Eagerness for a popish Match made him digest all the Affronts which *Spain* liberally bestow'd on him ; yet would he hector his Parliament with a *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ; comparing them to Thieves and Robbers (so did his Son hector his Parliament, reflecting on the Commons as a Pack of Cheats at Dice) for interposing in his pernicious Designs. Such a Paradox he told them, as hardly five of the five Hundred believ'd it, *viz.* If the *Spanish* Match was not for the Welfare of Religion, he was not fit to be their King. No more was he concern'd at fleeing his Subjects, than a love-sick Spouse to lose her Garters. He entail'd Slavery on *England* to an, &c. without God's great Mercy ; for by penning up the *English* Valour, and a Neglect of the Lords and Commons, by denying or deluding them after his Assent given, he made himself incapable of Trust, and descended to have the Money they gave him put into Commissioners Hands. Foreign Princes were so well acquainted with his Complexion, that his Promises did not incite them either to hope or fear, to raise their Love or Hatred. " In a Progress I once saw
" him all in *Green*, with a Feather in his Cap, and a Horn
" by his Side instead of a *Sword* ; his Countenance unlike
" any mine Eyes ever saw, except mine Host at *Anthill*.
" The Vanity of Ante-suppers (not practised by the most
" luxurious Tyrants) was in this Reign to have a Table
" cover'd with the choicest *Viands*, with which the Guests
" having feasted their Eyes, they were all in a manner thrown
" away, and fresh hot Dishes set on. A Gentleman told
" me, he eat to his own Share a Pye valued 10*l.* composed
" of Musk magisterial of Pearl, &c. yet was so far from
" being sweet next Morning, that he almost poyson'd him-
B " self

" self and his Family too, and like the Satyr flying from his
 " own Stink. As no other Reason appear'd in his Choice of
 " *Buckingham* and *Car*, but Handſomneſs, ſo he ſhew'd
 " his Love was as amorouſly convey'd, as if he had miſtaken
 " the Sex, and thought them *Ladies*: Whom I have ſeen la-
 " bouring to reſemble in the Effeminateness of their Drefſes;
 " Tho' in whoriſh Looks they exceeded any Part of Woman-
 " kind my Converſation did ever cope withal. *Mem. of K.*
 " *James.*" He told his Parliament, he had choſen a young
 Man of Integrity and Diſcretion, who had leſſened his Expens-
 ces. And as *Jupiter* once made *Ganymede* his Minion and
 Cup-bearer, ſo did *James* make his *Ganymede* Cup-bea-
 er. *Monſ. Vaſor* in his Hiſt of *Lewis* 13, enlarges much on
James's ill Conduct, and in ſhort reflects ſo ſeverely on him,
 that he makes but a very odd Figure in it. But the great
 Myſtery is yet behind; his Son's Journey into *Spain* was ſuch
 a Piece of Knight-errantry as no Age can parallel; tho' it
 ſeem'd to ſuit with the Prince's Genius that was inclinable to
 Adventures, by the fatal Adventures he made of three King-
 doms: They both diveſted themſelves of their own Reason
 by that unaccountable Voyage; which became a fertile Sub-
 ject of Jealouſies to us at Home, and Amazement to all Eu-
 rope. *Hiſt. Col. Pref.* " Better is a poor and wiſe Child
 " than an old and fooliſh King that will no more be admoniſh-
 " ed (ſaid a wiſe King) as once and again he was by his
 faithful Commons, and more remarkably by the pious A. Bp.
Abbot, who in a Letter beſeeched him to conſider; that by
 a Toleration (of Popery) he did endeavour to ſet up the moſt
 damnable Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of
Babylon. How hateful it would be to God, and grievous to
 his good Subjects; that he who had written and declared to
 the World that they were ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, and detest-
 able, ſhould ſhew himſelf a Patron of them. But alas, ſaith
 a learned Man, to his dying Day he continued writing (as
Laud did againſt *Fisher*) and oppoſing Popery in ſome Things,
 as the Popes Supremacy, &c. yet acting for it. This Tole-
 ration (ſaith the Biſhop) can't be effected without an Act of
 Parliament, unleſs he would take upon him to overthrow the
 Laws at his Pleaſure; [ſo did his three Succeſſors.] He
 pray'd him to conſider and beware, leſt by ſuch a Tole-
 ration he drew on himſelf and the Kingdom God's Wrath and
 Indignation: This ſeem'd Prophetical; for as another ſaid,
 the Occaſion of the Civil War (and all the illegal Oppreſſions
 which went before and after, and the ſad Conſequences of it)
 was the Influence of Popiſh and High-Church Counſels, which
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prevail'd on both Kings to pursue two such Matches so eager-
 as they did; and to agree to such Treaties in Favour of
 Papists, so scandalous and dangerous to the Protestant Reli-
 gion and Liberties of England. 'Twas an effectual Blow to
 the Root of that Religion and Cause, (said the great Span-
 nimus.) The King's wretched Neglect of his Daughter and
 the Palatinate, was the entire rooting out of the Protestant
 Religion in *Bohemia*, and its Ruin in some Parts of *Germa-
 ny*. After he had for several Years embraced a Cloud instead
 of the young *Juno* of *Spain*; he met with his Match, and
 indeed was overmatched by young *Ganymede*, who (in a gol-
 den Cup perhaps) gave him such a Potion, which, with a
 black Plaister, put an End to all his boasted King-craft*, as
 was affirmed by the People and their Representatives; how far
 the kind Mr.----- was privy to this black Business, is best
 known to him who accepteth not the Persons of Princes.
 Well, *per fas aut nefas* he ascends the Throne; The People
 and their Representatives to this Effect said to him, *Your Fa-
 ther made our Yoke grievous, (by Monopolies, Forfeitures and
 other Oppressions) now therefore make this Yoke lighter, and
 we will serve you.* But he like surly *Rehoboam* forsook the
 Counsel of the old Men, the good Bishop *Abbot, Williams*,
 and other Patriots, and consulted with the young Men that
 were brought up with him, and accompanied him in his wild
 Page, *Buckingham, Porter, &c.* inasmuch that his Pro-
 testant Subjects quickly felt his little Finger heavier than his
 Father's Loins, or than the Loins of the Law, as his Vice-
 Roy *Strafford* boasted to the *Yorkshire* Gentlemen. The Fa-
 ther chastis'd them with Whips, the Son with Scorpions in the
 Chamber with a Witness, or rather without one; for
 were the Protestant Gentlemen were tried and condemned
 without Witnesses on either Side heard; and the Accused
 and their Counsel hindered pleading in their own Defence;
 Injustice which sober Heathens were not guilty of to their
 vilest Criminals.

Laud makes some Memorables [as he calls them] on the
 deceased King; one is enough to serve as a Specimen of the
 rest; viz. *'Twas a Wonder so much Sweetness or Mildness
 could dwell in so great an Heart, &c.* Admirable Sweet-
 ness,

* Of this King it may be truly said [as of *Coniah*, so called in *Con-
 cept*] No Man of his Seed shall prosper, sitting on the Throne of Great
 Britain, and ruling any more, &c.

ness, 'tis said, there was when he rode a Hunting, and after the Drinking a Bottle of *Messy*. Another Bishop in his Funeral Sermon compares him to *David* [as some did to *Solomon*] for *David was white and ruddy*; our King too at the Sight of a naked Sword had a pale white Countenance; and after he had drank liberally of *Greek-wine* he became ruddy. Again, says the Bishop, *He took the Bishops and that young Disciple whom he loved, into his Bosom*: A fine Parallel between Christ and St. *John*, and the King and his Sweet heart *Buckingham*; There's more as good as this. A great deal of what I have and shall say in this Letter to you, Mr. Arch-Deacon, you have read perhaps, but for the unlearned Reader's Sake, I have said the more.

The supercilious, haughty Stiffness and Austerity of *Spaniards*, the new King had either learn'd amongst them, or as most think, 'twas natural in him. *His hard Fate it was* says our impartial Author, or *inexcusable Fault*, that having forsaken the old beaten Paths, so well hedg'd in by our excellent Laws, that 'twas impossible for him to mistake his Way. He wander'd about up and down in the *Terra Incognita* of Prerogative, arbitrary and illegal Power, till he lost the land and himself to boot. On as hard and more dishonourable Terms than his Father yielded to Spain, He's now married to France. Hence [as from Pandora's Box] infinite Mischiefs and Calamities flew out, and filled three Protestant Kingdoms. On the Queen's Arrival, a greater Plague raged in London than was ever known there, yet greater Plagues in this Reign followed in our three Nations. The King now on his Marriage with a *French* Papist, commands his Admiral to deliver up the *Great Vanguard*, and seven other Ships of War to France to be employ'd against the distressed *French* Protestants; and in case their Captains refused, to compel or sink the Ships. Their Companies declin'd this dirty Service; and Sir *Ferdinand* G----- return'd with the *Neptune* and a few besides. Now Popery and Prerogative walk Hand in Hand abroad; *Montague's* treasonable Book is published *cum Privilegio*, tho' he wrote for the Invocation of Saints, and affirmed, that the Church of Rome is and ever was a true Church; tho' our Homilies and best Divines call her Anti-christian and idolatrous. His Book [saith the Protestant House of Commons] scoffs at Preaching, Pulpits, Lectures, Bible, and all Shows of Religion; yet encourage Popery. For these good Services his Master pretending he was his Chaplain, rescu'd him out of the Parliament's Hands, and at length made him a Bishop: Strange that he, who by them was brought so low, should so soon le-

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up to a Bishoprick. Well, Mr. Arch-Deacon, I can't forbear
to ask you, whether the King's inviolable Steadiness and Af-
fection you boast of, was really for the true Church of En-
land, or that of Rome, or Laud's, Pocklington's, Manwa-
ing's, Sibthorp's, and Heylin's Church, or a Gallican Church
and Government,

About this Time the King, to get Money of his Parliament,
pretended to force the Emperor and his Allies to restore the
Palatinate; which he knew was lost irrecoverably long be-
fore, thro' his Father's Pusillanimity. One of his Lords was
instructed at a Conference gravely to tell the Commons, that
by a Treaty with Holland, she was to have a Quarter of the
spoils, but the Lands and Cities to be conquer'd there [and in
the Moon] should be the King's; *Risum teneatis?* Such Sto-
ries mix'd with the most fulsome Flatteries, did the Lord
Keepers tell the Parliament: But their Master, in most of his
speeches, entertain'd them with Invectives and Prerogative
boasts; he lets them know he won't have any of his Ministers
question'd among them — Sees they aim at the Duke —
Wonders at the Impudence of any who think he can be drawn
to offer up such a Sacrifice; no, rather would he sacrifice one
of his three Kingdoms, than venture a Discovery which the
Parliament would oblige Buckingham to make, who was pri-
vily to the Application of the Plaister, &c. Whoever will take
the Pains to read his Speeches, and those of King William,
Queen Ann, King George I. and II. will find as great a Dif-
ference, as between Darknefs and Light. Mr. Waller said
in Parliament, *that the Cause of all their Grievances was (as*
'twas said of Lewis II.) the King and his Council sitting on
one Horse, [He and Laud 'twas meant] sometimes one, some-
times the other foremost. Mr. Cook spake, *'Twas better to*
die by an Enemy, than to suffer at home [by greater Enc-
mies, he might have added]. A greater Enemy than Laud,
the Protestants of the three Kingdoms had not upon Earth.
Now did his loyal Commons vote him three Subsidies, and
three Fifteenths; and the Bill to be brought in as soon
as Grievances were answer'd: But he in Requital tells
the Donors, in his old Spanish Dialect, He's come to shew
them their un-parliamentary Proceedings; that he knows bet-
ter than any Man Buckingham's Sincerity and Discretion [in
giving the Plaister and Posset.] My Grand-father who was
contemporary with James I. I have heard say, he would in
his Sickness complain, George had kill'd him, and somewhat
else of his Master, which I forbear to mention here. So the
King expressly commands them to cease their Inquisition, and
tells

tells them, *that they begin to set the Dice, and make their own Game, (like a Pack of cheating Gamesters)* threatening how he wou'd serve his Parliament if—— Now then *Buckingham* and *Bristol*, formerly *Brethren in Iniquity*, impeach one another. *It seem'd not a Question in the Sense of many, saith Hammond Lestrangle, who was the Traitor, but who was the greatest.* Against him Articles are by the brave Patriots exhibited; the great and learned *Selden*, *Sir J. Elliot*, *Sir D. Diggs*, *Mr. Pym*, and four more were the Managers; Men who deserv'd a Statute to be erected to their Memory, as much as *Buckingham* and *Laud* did a Scaffold. The King enrag'd at the Two Knights for laying open the notorious Crimes of his Favourite, like the *Grand Seigneur*, arbitrarily sends them to the Tower, (the Prison whether his *Bassas* are sent is, I think, called the Seven Towers). The Commons two Resolves, vindicating the two Knights, passed without a Negative; nay, the Lord President, and 36 Peers made a voluntary Protest, *That Sir D. Diggs, at a Conference, said nothing which did or might trench on the King's Honour.* Having threatned his Commons, and imprisoned some of their eminent Members, he now picks a Quarrel with the Lords, and sends the Lord *Arundel* to the Tower, without expressing any Cause, nor telling them from first to last what it was; *sic volo, sic jubeo*, was instead of that. About 12 Petitions and Messages pass'd between him and them, for many Days. They in Discontent adjourn for a Week, humbly praying him to give them a gracious present Answer; he quarrels with them again, tells them of the Peremptoriness of those harmless Words, *a present gracious Answer.* After many ill-natur'd angry Words, and a troublesome Labour, at length, *parturiunt Montes*, he condescends to let them know, the Earl has Liberty to come to their House; and now has no more to do, but pay the Tower Charges, and thank the Peers for doing him Justice. Soon after he quarrels with the Commons, threatening them again, If they don't bring in their Bill of Subsidy without Delay or Condition, he will take other Resolutions. The Lords plainly tell him, that they being his hereditary Council should not discharge their Duty to God, him, and their Country, if they did not offer him their Advice, whereby the apparent Dangers both at Home and Abroad may be prevented. They sent four Peers to intreat him to give Audience to their whole House, but he *declared this Day, that he regarded neither Princes nor Servants.* He flopp'd his Ears, not hearkening to the Voice of his faithful Lords and Commons, charming him never so wisely;

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The Commons also in their Remonstrance tell him, [what knew too well before] *That the Papists do find extraordinary Favours and Respects at Court, [a good Friend they always there] their Numbers, Power, and Insolence daily increasing : And it doth not a little increase our Dangers and Fears, to understand the miserable Condition of Ireland, where without Controul Popery is openly profess'd, and practis'd in every Part of it. Means have been found out to discontinue and depress painful and orthodox Preachers, how reformable soever **

During this whole Reign, Tragedies were frequently exhibited to Protestant Subjects. Now *Buckingham* and his Master order a pleasant Comedy to be acted in the *Star-chamber*, where *Buckingham* is charged with the Application of the *Staff*, &c. Witnesses are gravely examined, but before the Trial, the Court, the Criminal, and his kind Master are all agreed on their Verdict of *Not Guilty* ; for a Salve to every Sore wrought a *sovereign Cure*. *Buckingham* fit to be made a Dancing-Master than a General and Admirer with an immense Treasure, (extorted by robbing the People, who submitted to many arbitrary and illegal Taxes, &c.) had got together 100 Ships, and about 6000 Men, pretending to relieve the besieg'd *Rochel* Protestants ; but a precipitant unfortunate War had been declared against *France* ; but a wretched Conduct and Cowardise, or rather Orders from Court, brought Shame and Dishonour to the King and Kingdom, and the Ruin of a Protestant Town and Fortress in *France*. *Buckingham* having abandon'd them, was home hated by all, welcomed by none besides his Master and old Acquaintance *Laud*, *Lamb*, (called the Duke's Conscience) and the Papists, who rejoic'd at the Destruction of a Protestant Town, and many hundred *English* Protestants. The Popish Queen acted her Part in the Dark, for what Orders soever were made *by Day*, she, *Penelope*-like, [as 'twas said] unravell'd them at Night. The Duke prepares for another Expedition, and to send more Sheep to the Slaughter ; whilst he was busy at *Portsmouth* in order thereto, he was slaughter'd by *Felton*, thro' the just Judgment of God ; being examined by the Privy Council, readily confess'd the

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the Fact; but *Caiaphas* (who was naturally cruel, and bore implacable Hatred to religious Protestants, hoping to gain a Confession that the Puritans had set him on) threatening *ton* with the Rack, who replied, he did not know but might force him to accuse his Grace; but the Judges decreed, 'twas against Law; so he was deservedly hang'd, and the King deliver'd from the Dread of *Buckingham's* Displeasure.

The miserable *Rochellers* (now deserted or rather betted, and only tantaliz'd with Victuals which their Eyes saw at Distance) were by Famine reduc'd from about 15000 to 6000. They us'd to carry their Coffins into Church-yards, laid themselves down in them, and there died; so that scarce a Man was left who could support himself without a Staff: From hence we may date the Ruin of the Protestant Interest in *France*, and the weakening and Depression of it in *England* by *Laud's* Faction. Now to return again to *Westminster*; the Grand Committee of the 3^d Parliament, 'twas said, the Subject had suffer'd more in the few Years of this Reign, in Violation of their Liberties, than in 300 Years before. The famous Petition of Right they finished; but the King refused them, that without the Overthrow of sovereign (he meant arbitrary and illegal) Power, he can't suffer it to be implemented: This was the golden Image which he (like that arbitrary *Eastern* Monarch) did set up, requiring the People of three Nations to fall down and worship. *Strafford*, not bought off, said, *If we suffer the Addition of sovereign, we shall leave the Subject worse than we found him.* He was not yet a Court-Tool, spake, *these Words are unknown to me, and never used in any Act or Petition.* In short, both Houses agreed to the Petition; and even the Lords, *Nemine contradicente*, ordered it to be presented to the King, who gave it a scanty imperfect Answer, which disgusted all: Yesterday faith Mr. *Alured*, *was a Day of Desolation amongst us.* Mr. *E. Phillips*, and Sir *E. Cook*, spoke, but mingled Tears in their Words; Nay, ev'n *Finch*, the Court Intelligencer was of Both Houses again join in beseeching him to give them a clear and satisfactory Answer; *We have*, faith Sir *E. Cook*, *with that Moderation, that never was the like after such a Violation of our Liberties.* He, to get five Subsidies, with great Reluctancy, gave the Royal Assent; yet,

*'Twas but like Fire struck out of Stone,
So hardly got, and quickly gone,
That it scarce outliv'd the Blow *.*

* Mr. Cowley.

is Promises, say the Commons, were broken almost as soon made; Mr. Rolls, one of their Members, his Goods were
z'd, valued at 5000 l. for pretended Duties. Lord Claren-
(if you'll believe him) faith, Unjust Projects of all kinds
re set on foot, and rais'd throughout the Kingdom, as
in truth an Act of Parliament had pass'd for it; tho'
assures us there was no Need, Vol. 1. p. 55. Arbitrary
wer, says he, like a mighty Torrent, has broken in upon
when our Banks, the Laws, were in the Custody of such
Judges;—Her Judges are Evening Wolves; her Princes
roaring Lyons, faith Zephaniah, they gnaw not the Bones
the Morrow, so voracious, that one Meal wont suffice
m. When the Loan Money was against Law imposed,
of whom 'twas demanded were required to swear, who
swaded them from lending, or to delay Payment; nay,
at Words were used, and on their Allegiance were they
ged not to disclose the Answers: That they treat apart with
e, who are to lend; endeavouring to discover the Disswa-
and not admit any Reasons for abating any Part impo-
And is not this, Mr. Arch-Deacon, what is practis'd
Clergy-Men in the Spanish Inquisition-house. Was this
g, think you, the Martyr of the People? Who growing still
and more infatuated, dissolves his 3^d Parliament; tells
Lords, there were a few Vipers in the other House;
must look for Punishment: His Promises of Grace, &c.
ood Protestants, he little regarded, but in his Threats*
commonly as good as his Word. So the famous Lord
is, Selden, and seven late Members, were cited to Coun-
table; Mr. H——, and three more, for refusing to an-
there for what they said in Parliament, were sent to
Tower; Sir J. Elliot, for refusing the Loan, had been
ng Time Prisoner in the Gatehouse, and now again in the
's Bench, was fined 2000 l. Lord Hollis 1000 Marks, &c.
all the Defendants to be Prisoners during Pleasure, un-
they give Security for their good Behaviour, and make
Submission in Court; Sir J. Hayman, for refusing the
n, was dispatch'd to the Palatinate; Sir J. Strange-ways,
famous Sir H. Grimstone, and other Knights and Gentle-
were confined, not in their own Houses or Counties, but
ote ones. Not only the Commons of England, but the

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Lords and Commons declared, May 19th, *The Petition of Right was*
ed with a mighty Inundation of Illegal Taxes. Vol. 4. p. 425. *

Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Council, by their Proclamation complain of the great Insolence of the Priests and Jesuits in their erecting Convents, Colleges, &c. in the View of the State; setting up a Jurisdiction over the King's Subjects. Again, the pious Bishop Bedel, in his Letter to Laud (found in his Study) tells him, *The Church of Ardah and the Bishop's House are down to the Ground, the Parish Churches in a manner ruin'd, a Popish Clergy more numerous than ours, and in the full Exercise of their Jurisdiction, by Vice-General, who excommunicate those who come to our Courts even in Marriages; ours pay double Tithes on both Sides his Majesty is King here but at the Pope's Discretion.* Now Mr. Arch-Deacon, will you believe a Parliament, the Lord Deputy and Council, and a pious Bishop, what all affirm of the Papists' Insolence? Did not Laud and his Master know this? Were not the bloody Papists hereby encouraged to murder 150000 Protestants? You must own, that the least that can be said hereof is, *Malum qui non prohibet, cum possit, peccat.*

Should I relate here at large the Tragedies acted in Scotland, *vox faucibus heret*, in a Protestant Kingdom; the Permission and Command of a Protestant King, were given to six Protestant Gentlemen (a Counsellor at Law, two learned Physicians, a London Minister, and one or two private Gentlemen) most unjustly tried, and barbarously tortured, of which a Relation is given, Vol. 2. p. 179. 'Tis remarkable, that when the famous Mr. Pryn petition'd for a Mitigation of his inhumane Sentence, Caiaphas declared in Court *That it was the King's express Command it should be executed.* So then we know who was the Principal in this horrible Tragedy, which (with more like it) brought on that day acted, Jan. 1648.

To read the Story of Dr. Leighton's cruel Execution would infuse Horror into a sober Heathen; he was the Father of the Pious Arch-Bishop of Glasgow; fined 10000 l. degraded, then whipt inhumanely, next set in the Pillory, one of his Ears cut off, one Side of his Nose slit, and his Cheek branded with an hot Iron. Caiaphas thank'd his low-Inquisitors for this Sentence, and in his Diary, with seeming Pleasure writes, *that before the Sores on the Prisoners Back, Ear, Nose and Cheek were healed, he was again at Cheapside whipt, had his other Ear cut off, the other Side of his Nose slit, and the other Cheek branded.* Innumerable Barbarities did those three Gentlemen suffer before and after their mock Trial, being sent away to Jersey, Guernsey,

illy Islands: Mr. B——, a London Minister, had his ears cut off deep and close, in a cruel Manner, with much effusion of Blood, his Artery, and Dr. Bastwick's being cut. One of Mr. Pryn's Ears and a Piece of his Cheek was cut off with it, then hacking the other almost off it was left hanging, and the Executioner (who doubtless had Orders to torment all under his Hands as much as he could) left him in that dismal Plight, and afterwards cut it quite off. The King and his Privy Council ordered that the Wives of Dr. Bastwick and Mr. B—— should not land in those Islands, and if they did, should be detain'd Prisoners; and the Gentlemen Guard not to suffer any but themselves to speak to them. In short, as one said, *it would have been better for them to have been hang'd*; a few Minutes Pain would have dispatch'd them; but alas! they chose rather to make them *die daily* for four years. Well; *he shall have Judgment without Mercy, that deserves no Mercy*. As for Laud, 'tis great Pity he had not had a Whip (who chastis'd many sober Protestants with Scorpions) instead of an Ax, for his deserv'd Punishment, as the Senate decreed for Nero;

*Nec Lex est justior ulla,
Quam necis artifices Morre perire sua.*

Your sagacious King James I. affirms, *the King of England enters upon the Kingdom by Oath to govern it according to Law*, (which his Son did not, if your own Lord Clarendon, and other eminent Royalists say true) *and which, if he ceaseth to do, he is perjur'd, ceaseth to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant*. Are these Things so, as the High-Priest said? Why then should we now be so shy to call his Successor by the same Name as we do Henry VIII, your Woman of Virtue, Queen Mary, and James II? We have now (God be praised) innocent Liberty to speak the Truth, which in former Reigns we had not. The King and Caiaphas now violently persecute the late Lord Keeper Williams, afterwards Arch-Bishop of York, from whom the Seal had been taken by the Malevolence of Buckingham, who could do and undo what and whom he pleas'd; His Conjuror Lamb, and Sibthorp (who had deliver'd up the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the King's Subjects to his Will, in one or two Sermons, for which he was in great Favour with him) were the Accusers: The Bishop had store of Money, which the King wanted, and that was the only or greatest Crime. In short, he underwent two Mock-trials, but not suffered to speak a Word

in his own Defence; was fined first 10000*l.* of which the King declared he would abate nothing; and in the next to the King 5000*l.* and to *Laud* (whom *Williams* had prevail'd on King *James* against his Mind to make him a Bishop) 3000*l.* besides a long Imprisonment in the *Tower* *.

Another Tragedy is now acted in the unholy Inquisition-house: The learned Master of *Westminster-School*, Mr. *Osbaldston*, a Protestant, was sentenc'd by *Windebank*, a profess'd Papist, &c. to be depriv'd of all spiritual Dignities, to stand in the Pillory in *Deans-yard*, and his Ears nail'd to it. *Cursed be their Anger for it was fierce, and their Wrath for it was cruel.* The King, before these Tragedies were acted, set out for *Scotland*, and in his Return took Boat at *Brum Island* for *Leith*, seven Miles over, in a calm Season, at Mid-day; but presently after a violent Tempest arose, tho' none at Land: After great Danger he landed at *Leith*; but one of the Boats in which his Plate was, overset, and about twenty Persons perished. A learned Contemporary of his faith, *On his Coronation Day, being at play with School-Fellows on that Solemnity, an Earthquake about two after Noon, affrighted us and all the Neighbourhood: And on his Son's Coronation, the Day was serene and fair till the Afternoon, and then were terrible Thunders when least expected.* Whether this was not ominous of all the direful Calamities which in both Reigns follow'd, God Almighty knows, meantime we are sure, that *whatsoever they did* seldom prosper'd.

Another wicked *Star-chamber-Decree*, like the Popish *Index Expurgatorius*, or worse, in 1637, came forth; the Barbarity like that of the *Spanish* Inquisition; it prohibited Printers, not licens'd, to work at, or set up any Press, on pain of being set in the Pillory (enough one would think; no) to be whipt thro' the Streets, and (yet more again) such further Punishments as *Star-chamber* should inflict; flitting Noses, cutting off Ears, branding Cheeks, &c. Hereupon *The Book of Martyrs*, Bishop *Jewel's* Works, *Practise of Piety* (Name and Thing) were denied Licences by the two Martyrs: And had these Semi-Protestants gone on in their wild Career (as in *Spain*) the printing more Bibles, without

* *Banks*, Attorney-General, informed against seven Lords, about sixty Baronets and Knights, and an hundred Esquires, who had Offices and Places in several Counties; and divers Ladies of Quality: Their great Crime was, that they sometimes dwelt at home in the Country, and sometimes in *London*.

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our Inquisitors Licence, might have been prohibited; for
afford's Chaplain, *Bramhal*, was not ashamed to declare
print, That he takes the promiscuous Licence of unquali-
d Persons to read the Scriptures more pernicious than the
er-rigorous Restraint of the *Romanists*. *Cosin's* Book of
ir Seven Sacraments, and other popish and treasonable
oks were printed *Cum Privilegio*, by *Montague*, *Man-
ring*, and *Sibthorp*, &c.

Now to make a *Trip* to *Scotland*, where the great Incen-
ry, *Laud*, had provoked all Degrees of Men with new
pressions, and Fears of greater, viz. a *Star-chamber-
rt*, *High-Commission*, *Canons*, &c. which they nor their
thers were able to bear. The King writes to *Hamilton*,
his chief End was to gain Time till his Fleet was ready,
then to declare them Traytors: So to delude 'em, he
aside the new Service Book, *High-Commission*, &c. then
ast is proclaimed: So did *Ahab's* Consort; but the Con-
quences of both were dismal: The deluded *Scots* were
joy'd at this, and with what he in a Letter to their Chan-
or before had told them, viz. That a right Understand-
between him and them had always been his *Care*, and
Prosperity his *Joy*. With the same Sincerity, and to
same Effect, did King *Charles* say to his Protestant Sub-
of *France*, whom he invited to a Wedding, at which he
contriv'd their Entertainment, that more of their Blood
shed than Wine drank. Our *Charles* now provides a
Army, so that if Almighty God had not prevented it,
much Protestant *English* and *Scotch* Blood had been spilt
a War as was at the Wedding. *June*, 1639. his Army
ose chief Officers were Papists, or of no Religion; but
Soldiers generally Protestants) came near the *Scots* Bor-
e, who advanc'd towards the *English*: Sadly affrighted and
arm'd at their near Approach, some Noblemen told the
g of it; but he, with a Court Oath, said they were
taken: Yet soon after—*Han't I good Intelligence, that
Rebels can encamp within Sight of me, and I know not a
rd of it?* In short, the *Scots* having baffled the King's Army,
an Excess of Loyalty, petition him again, Lord *Loxdon*
s him, their Desires were only the Enjoyment of their
igion and Liberties; which, at last, much against his
l, he was forced to grant them. But the old Enemy of
r Nation, and all good Protestants, is for another wild
rch, tells his Master, That the late Pacification was made
a Company of *hunting Lords*, very inconsistent with his
nnical Government in Church and State. *He in Eng-
land,*

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land, and *Strafford in Ireland* (who was to raise 8000 M^{en} most of 'em Papists) went on in the high Way of Iniquity and every one knows how to trace 'em, said Lord *And* by their wicked Counsel.

The King (who still consulted Shame to his Honor) marches up a second time on his *Iter Boreale*, with a brave Army; and indeed 'twas pity he had not taken along with him his High-Priest, *Laud* (as *Balaak* did *Balaam*) directed him to get up unto some high Place, and thence to curse the poor Scots in their Tents; the Madness of that Prophet which the dumb Ass forbade, was not perhaps greater than that of our High-Priest, which held him (for a short Fit, as *Balaam's* did, but) for above two Years. Lord *Clarendon* owns, that Prayers and Execrations compos'd by *Laud* doubtless, were in a sharp Stile against the Scots order'd in all Churches to be read; but against the Irish Cut-throats, the Proclamation declaring them to be Rebels, issued not in two or three Months after the Massacre and but forty of them order'd to be printed, and none published without his Leave. The Scots thought that Almighty God turn'd the Curse into a Blessing; and as 'tis said of the Fox, to thrive the better for it. They suffer'd their Protestant Brethren to come to their Camp, bidding them to come: But a Scots Officer watering his Horse at the River an Englishman shot him, so that he fell down; hereupon the Scots fired on the English Sconces with their Cannon; for all of them, were of Leather tinn'd with Iron, brought Horse-back, which did more Execution than their Enemy's Iron or Brass Cannon, not once discharg'd perhaps in an Expedition of 800 Miles forth and back. The English Generals did not like the Noise or Smell of Gun-powder, so they took off their heavy useless Cannon and fled (*timor addidit alio*) to *Durham*, where they knew Feather-beds were ready which in a Camp they wanted; yet it must be own'd, that the two Generals, *Conway* in the *Star Chamber*, and *Strafford* in *Ireland*, had for many Years shew'd signal Courage in their cruel Sentences and Executions of protestant Gentlemen, &c. but in a Field or Camp, and in the Conduct of an Army, were more pusillanimous than our English Women. Cowardise and Cruelty often meet together. The brave Scots came to *Newcastle*, where fifteen Lords dined with the Mayor, and drank the King's Health; but where was our generalissimo all this while? At the Head of his brave Army No—— the Poet tells us,

Territa quaestis ostendit terga Britannis.

The Scots now tell him, that from this their submissive
 ay, no Adversity or prosperous Success shall divert them;
 heech him to consider their pressing Grievances. The
 English Lords at York represent to him, 1st, The great
 anger in Church and State. 2^{dly}, The ensnaring *Ex officio*
 th. 3^{dly}, The new Canons, and other Innovations in
 Religion. 4^{thly}, The Increase of Popery and Papists em-
 oy'd. 5^{thly}, The intended bringing over the *Irish* Army.
 6^{thly}, Ship-Money, and the Prosecution of Sheriffs for not levy-
 ing it. 7^{thly}, The heavy Impositions on Merchants, Multitudes
 of Monopolies, the Intermission of Parliaments for twelve
 years, &c. Yet the People's Martyr, he says, after all this,
 had a great deal more: The City of London, Gentlemen of
 Yorkshire, &c. petition him to the same Effect; but he,
 like, Cared for none of those Things, whilst a wicked
 Counsellor was at his left Hand, hurrying him on to his own
 and the Nation's Ruin*. Seller, in his *History of England*,
 having commended him for his Chastity, saith, *had he not*
given too much Heed to Buckingham, Laud, &c. who were
continually buzzing into his Ears nothing but absolute and
limited Power, dissolving his Parliaments, then raising
money, and ruling without them, &c. whereby he lost the
love of his People, he had never been brought to that dismal
catastrophe, but have liv'd and died a happy Prince, p. 601.
 The Peers sent to the Lord Mayor of London and Citizens,
 for a Loan of 200000 *l.* after he had imprison'd their Alder-
 men in the Gatehouse, Marshalsea, &c. and in Star-chamber
 fined them 50000 *l.* for possessing and defending their just
 rights to Londonderry, which had cost 'em vast Sums of
 money. Sir J. Culpepper (who was with the King at Oxon)
 said in Parliament, *There was a Nest of Monopolizers, who*
like the Frogs of Egypt, possess our Dwellings, sip in our
Cup, dip in our Dish, sit by our Fires, are in the Dye-fat,
Wash-bowl and Powdering-tub, share with the Butler in his
Box, mark and seal us from Head to Foot, and won't abate us
a Pin. There were illegal Taxes on Wines, Soap, Salt,
 Cards, Dice, Pins, Felts, Rags, &c. 'Tis strange that Laud,
 or some hungry Courtier, had not (amongst many ridiculous
 Projects

* Lords and Commons roundly told him, *That 'till his evil Coun-
 sellors be remov'd, even Laws themselves cannot secure us.*

Projects of all kinds) laid a Tax on Urine, as *Vespasian* did uttered in private Houses by Men, Women, and Children the *dulcis Odor lucri ex re qualibet*, would have pleased them and the Queen's Priests, better than holy Water. Sir *H. Grimston*, in his Speech, summ'd up the Oppressions of this Reign thus: 'Tis most apparent, that by some Judgments obtain'd and some Ways of Government, the Law of Property is much changed, that no Man can say he is Master of any Thing; but we all hold what we have as Tenants at will. Yet after all, a *Pater Patriæ* — The People's Martyr, as himself said; and at the same time spoke of *Alexander* as the great Robber; as is every Prince who arbitrarily, against or without Law, extorts from his Subjects immense Sums of Money for many Years successively, when he might have had enough upon easy Terms in a legal Way; which now too late he tries, in order to raise a third Army, and be reveng'd on *Scotland*. So he summons a fourth Parliament, Lords and Commons trudge up and down many hundred Miles; but as the Poet said, and the People too,

———*They, Cato-like, no doubt,
Did only enter that they might go out.*

And so they did, having sat but twenty-two Days; and in the Winter following they are haled up to *Westminster* again, and sat *November 3, 1640.* of whom the ingenious *Dr. Wood* saith, *No Age produced greater Men.* And your own Lord *Clarendon*; *They were grave discerning Men, Lords and Commons, near all of 'em well affected to, or in Communion with the Established Church.* The King, in his Speech, (as *Laud* and he had agreed) the more to provoke the *Scots*, calls 'em *Rebels*; as they did afterwards the best Members of both Houses, and some of the best Protestants in City and Country*. *Finch*, in his usual Stile, flatters King, Queen, Clergy, &c. so extravagantly, boasts of his exemplary Piety (his Book of Sports on Lords Days perhaps he meant) his Justice and Moderation (in *Star-chamber*) That if you would know the Truth of Particulars, you must take 'em in the Reverse. Many brave Patriots, with more Truth and Honesty spake, Mr. *Banbury* said, That seeing the sad State of

* There were a Parcel of Monosyllable Animals, namely, Sir *Finch* *Lamb*, *Wren*, *Dr. Duck*, *Sprat*, &c. who did more Mischief to Protestants than so many Wolves.

of the Nation, in respect of Religion and Laws, he was more dispos'd to *weep* than *speak*: That his Soul has bled for the many Wrongs and Pressures committed in the High-Commission Court and Ecclesiastick, especially the horrid *Ex Officio* oath, that *Cornificina Conscientie*. Sir *J. Holland*, of the relates usurping Power, publick Toleration of Papists, Inundation of Popery and Prerogative, which has almost overturn'd all our Liberties! Sir *J. Clotworthy* acquaints the House, That Mr. *Hussey* informing the popish Secretary, *Vindebank*, that *O Connor*, an *Irish* Papist, had boasted that there would be cutting of Throats, and that seven Thousand *Irish* were in Pay for that Purpose: But this was no Secret to the Secretary or his Master, and so frivolous a Matter, that he refer'd it to his Clerks Examination; but the *Irish* Protestants found it too true in *October* following. Capt. *Audley*, Member of their Parliament, at their Impeachment of the Chancellor, Sir *George Radcliff*, Bishop *Bramhall*, &c. said, he was commanded to present to the Lords *Ireland's* Tragedy, the Gray-headed Common-Law's Funeral, and the Statutes Death and Obsequies (so it was at that Time in *England* also; and in the Son's Reign, when King *William* came to *London*, the Nobility, City-Magistrates, Clergy, and great Lawyers waited on him; to their Senior, the famous *Maynard*, he said, he had out-lived all the Men of the Law of his Time; he replied, if his Highness had not come, he had outlived the Law it self.) Capt. *A*— proceeds, "They (the Bishop, *Radcliff*, and Chancellor) intending the Destruction of the Kingdom, had conspir'd to subvert the fundamental Laws, exercised a tyrannical Government over the Subjects Goods, Persons and Liberties, defamed many of Reputation; by *Pillories*, *Mutilation* of Members, and other infamous Punishments, that they assumed a *regal Power*. Every Prison gives Instances of illegal Commitments; every Pillory gives Instances, is died with Blood forced from them, and has Ears (tho' not to hear, yet) to witness the Complaints of Violence. Their Oppressions have well nigh ruin'd the Nobility, Gentry, and Merchants, while Farmers of Customs, Pursivants, Gaolers, &c. were enrich'd, &c. Kings have long Hands, that can reach from *Star-chamber* and *King's-bench* at *Westminster* to that in *Dublin*." Why should not the Hero *Strafford* (Mr. Archdeacon) under whose Government and Direction these great Things were done, be canoniz'd a Martyr as well as his Master and *Laud*? Your own Lord *Eldredson* in Parliament said (when that *Monstrum horrendum*,

Sum, Ship-Money, was by Lords and Commons condemn'd to Death) Had not this blessed Day come, Men would have had the same Quarrel with the Law as Martius had with the Greek Tongue. To save the Labour of transcribing many Speeches of the illegal Oppressions of this Reign, I refer you to that of the famous Lord Falkland, beginning, This is a Stranger in our Israel. That against your Court Parasite Finch, for which your Master Hyde had the Thanks of the House; those of Lord Digby, Sir J. Culpepper, the great Selden, Lord Hollis, Grimston, and other loyal Worthies, Vol. 3. p. 267, 40, 261, &c. And if you hear these, neither will you be perswaded (I believe) though they rose from the Dead.

Sir T—— W—— deliver'd in Articles against a very unclean Bird, Bishop Wren, more ravenous than a Vulture having driven away about three Hundred of his Flock into the Desarts of America, and other remote Countries, by his cruel Persecutions of conscientious Ministers, of whom he had suspended, excommunicated and depriv'd about Fifty, for not reading the prophane Book of Sports in the House of God, and on his own Day. He excused all this in public saying, What he did was by the King's Order; who was well pleased therewith, that he translated the voracious Wretch from Norwich to Ely, a fatter Bishoprick.

Religion (saith a great Patriot) is violently invaded by its seeming Enemies; but like Herod and Pilate, close Friends against Truth, &c. viz. the Papists and prelatical Faction between whom this Parallel he made. In the popish Inquisition the Papists are not so bad (or more excusable however as ours in the High-Commission Court: The Papists do not punish those of their own Religion; ours, in their Ecclesiastical Courts, excommunicate and deprive poor Ministers, though not guilty of breaking any established Laws. And in comparing the Pope of Rome with the Patriarch of Lambeth, he chuseth to serve the first as far as Tiber, rather than him who dwells near the Thames;

Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.

And now we see the good Effects of that Care, which the King promised to his Parliament should extend to Ireland; for he having for many Years given them extraordinary Marks of his Favour, they were encouraged, October 23, 1641. to begin their horrid Massacre of above 150000 Men, Women and Children; *Let that Day be dark, and the Shadow of Death*

death cover it, the Tongue falters when it tries to speak, the faucibus hæret, the Pen drops from the Hand of him that relates the unheard of Cruelties of those incarnate Serpents, so sudden, that 'twas hard to discern its Rise, or apply a Remedy; (saith your *Eicon Basilicon*) and the Sea of Blood there shed is enough to drown any Man in eternal Infamy, whom God shall find the Author or Instigator thereof. This Book, which hath tempted too many unthinking Party-zealots to canonize King Charles for a Saint and a Martyr (as the Papists do *Becket*) has long ago appear'd to be a *Pious* at best, and prov'd to be so by Dr. Walker and Lord Anglesey, &c. who thus says

" When in the Year 1675. I shew'd Charles II. and his Brother, in the Lords House, the Copy of *Eicon Basilicon*, they assur'd me that it was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden; which I here insert for undeceiving others in this Point, by attesting it under my Hand,

" Anglesey.

I have read it related by a credible Author, that Bishop Gauden made some or most part of it, and Duppa another: There have not been wanting (saith our impartial Author, l. 3. pray mind it Mr. Archdeacon) " some who have thought the King too much concerned in that *black Business*, in which they have been the more confirmed from a Letter dated July, 1663. written by command of Charles II. to the Duke of Ormond and Council of Ireland, concerning the Lord Antrim, who was early and deeply concerned in the Rebellion. King Charles tells them, That he having referred the Examination of Antrim's Case to several Lords, they reported, That they had seen divers Letters all of his royal Father's Hand-writing to Antrim, and several Instructions about his treating and joyning with the Irish, in order to his Service, by reducing them to his Obedience, and drawing some Forces from them for Scotland: That besides the Letters and Orders under the King's Hand, they had received sufficient Evidence of several private Messages and Directions sent from his royal Mother, with the Privy and Directions of his Father, by which they were perswaded, That whatever Intelligence, Correspondence or Actings Antrim had with the Irish Catholicks, were directed, or allowed by the said Directions, &c. That it manifestly appears to them, That the King

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“ his Father was well pleased with *Antrim*, and approved
 “ Concluding, We can't in Justice upon his Petition, and
 “ after strict Inquisition, but declare, That we find him in-
 “ nocent of any Malice or rebellious Purpose against the
 “ Crown; and that what he did by way of Correspondence
 “ &c. with the *Irish* Rebels, was in order to the Service
 “ your royal Father, and by his Instructions. Sign'd Henry
 “ Bennet, and enter'd at the Signet Office.

Mr. *Pierce*, in his *English* and *Latin* Vindication, against
 Dr. *Nichols*, and Mr. B——, a Contemporary of *Charles*
 give a like Relation of this; adding, *That it stoped not here*
for the Lord Mazarine (who enjoy'd that Rebel's Estate) *but*
so far prosecute this Cause, as that Antrim was forced to pro-
duce Charles First's Letters in the House of Commons, con-
dering him to take up Arms; which being read, put them
all to silence; but the People without Doors talk'd strangely
and said, Did not you perswade us that Charles I. was against
the Irish Rebellion? Don't we now see with what a Mind
you would have gone with an Army thither to suppress the Rebels
as he pretended? The Sum of all they said was intimated
in a Pamphlet, intituled, Murder will out. I had in my
Hands, saith Bishop B——, several of Antrim's Letters to
Charles I. written in a confident Stile—— In the Postscript
he desires his kind Master to send the inclosed to the good Woman
(the Queen he means) not excusing the Presumption.
 If you, Mr. Archdeacon, want more Light yet to see the Sa-
 our Author will give it you, Vol. 5. p. 494. 'Tis a Relation
 the kind Reception of the Rebels, and the rough Entertain-
 ment which the Court gave the Protestant Agents at *Oxford*
 1644. who being the Sufferers, petition'd to be first heard
 but were denied, and the Rebels first heard; these told
 their kind Master, and he the Protestants, that their Conspi-
 racy at first was not general. No, perhaps they only design'd
 then to murder all the Protestant Men they could come at
 but finding their Blood pretty sweet, it incited them to see
 whether the Womens and Childrens Blood had not a fine
 Taste.

The Protestants next apply to his Popish Favourite, *Cox-
 ington*, who tells 'em (a great Lie doubtless) that he knew
 of no Propositions the *Irish* had made; threatening Sir *Francis*
Hamilton, and his Protestant Colleagues, that unless they
 consent to a Peace, the Rebels would at their Return Home
 destroy the Remnant of Protestants: And though these in
 vain desir'd a Copy of their Propositions, they were order'd to
 attend those who had murder'd Thousands of their Relations

Neighbours; nay, allow'd to hear the Protestant Petition
 it, and even their Instructions too; and told, the King
 is sensible of their prejudicate Opinion and Belief of vulgar
 reports.

A Creature of *Strafford's* is next employ'd, Sir G. Red-
 ff, a bitter Enemy of the Protestants, one impeach'd by
 Parliament of High-Treason, who tells the Agents, That 'tis
 impossible to grant their Petitions and make a Peace with
 their Enemies. Another of the wicked Crew roundly tells
 them, That if they will continue so high in their Demands,
 they must expect nothing but War (a Massacre of the Rem-
 nant;) and if they would abate three Parts in four of their
 propositions, he was sure they'd not be accepted.

Well, the King told his Catholick Friends at parting, That
 they would make haste to assist him, on Conditions suffi-
 cient to secure their Religion, he would never forget to whom
 he owed his Preservation; and then 'twould be in his abso-
 lute Power to compleat their Happiness, p. 500.

Flectere si nequeo superos Acharonta movebo.

*I can't make the Demi-Gods at Westminster and Guild-
 hall bend to my absolute Power, I'll raise up the Irish
 Friends, who shall chastise 'em with Rods and Axes, as they
 do their Brethren, October, 1641.*

In a Letter to Ormond, he graciously thank'd Lord Mus-
 erry, Phunket, &c. prime Actors in the bloody Massacre, for
 their Paper. In another he directs 'em to hasten the Peace,
 whatever it cost, granting 'em a free Parliament of their own
 choosing; for few Protestant Freeholders were left alive in
 Ireland, many having fled to England, and more murder'd
 at home. Lord Inchequin, and other Protestant Commanders,
 petition'd him not to purchase a seeming Security, by leaving
 the Protestant Religion to be extirpated; but proclaim 'em
 rebels, and not pardon those, who being guilty of such bar-
 barous Crimes, pretend his Commission for what they do.
 Some of his Council (they tell him) have prevail'd with him
 to make such an Agreement, as they hope, will extirpate the
 Protestant Religion and Interest out of Ireland. This and
 much more was the unanimous Declaration of the Province of
 Munster. They crave the Assistance of King and Parliament,
 saying, *The Clergy have, with the Pope's Assistance, raised
 in Italy 10000 l. with Arms, &c.* In short, an abominable
 Peace was made with those Cut-throats. You know, Mr.
 Archdeacon, that *Ahab* made a Peace (not half so bad) with
Benhadad,

Benhadad, whom Almighty God had appointed to utter Destruction; you know what the Text saith thereupon, and can make the Application; you remember what *Jehu* did to *Abab's* wicked House, and *Cromwell*, on those bloody *Murderers*, did avenge the Blood of his Servants, and bring them (as they well deserv'd) to utter Destruction. Well Sir, 'tis pretty plain, that though King *Charles* was no Martyr yet (as you say of the virtuous Queen *Mary*) he made many Martyrs in *Ireland*, who under him suffer'd Death for the professing the true Religion.

From *Oxford* let's pass to *Westminster*, where, and in the City, such as inveigh'd against an illegal Tax, or the Corruption of a Court-Officer, were prosecuted, imprisoned, fined, and a Thousand vexatious Methods invented to oppress them, saith our Author, like the great Prerogative King *Pharaoh*, after repeated Judgments, ours seem'd to be more and more hardned. Into the House of Commons he went with his armed Guards, threatning a Massacre; at least to their great Terror and Astonishment, he demands five of the eminent Members, goes to the Speaker's Chair, saith, *your Leave I must borrow the Chair*; asks whether he find them, or where they were; who replied, *I have neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak, but as the House is pleas'd to direct me*; and *I beg your Majesty's Pardon that I can give no other Answer*. Having left the House, a great Disorder arose; and in the Lord's House he order'd a Charge of High Treason against the Lord *Kimbolton*. Next Day, in pursuit of his own and his Kingdom's Ruin, he marches into the City, and imprudently demands the five Members of the Common-Council. Into his Coach was thrown a Paper, which was written, *To your Tents, O Israel! Enough* one would have thought to stop him in his Career; no, the Intemperance continues; he next proclaims those brave Patriots Traytors. The Queen (saith a modern Author) had the uxorious Monarch, *Go, you Scoundrel, and pull those Rogues out by the Ears, &c.* This Outrage was indeed the very Spark that put the Nation into a Flame, and from thence we may reasonably date the levying a War in *England*.

After all these Convulsions and Throws, *Parturiunt matres*, he tells the Commons, he's pleas'd to wave his former Process: Again, more solemnly tells both Houses, that the Procedure had been delayed thro' a *mistaken Step*. Alas! all the large Steps he ever took were fatally mistaken. Both Houses roundly tell him, *all their Privileges* were violated, and his Answer unsatisfactory. Again, he thought he had

good Grounds to accuse their Members; but now finds as
 good Cause to desist wholly from their Prosecution. These
 mean Subterfuges the more exasperated both Houses, who
 indicated (as the City did protect) them: From hence
 like the five Hundred Kings at *Westminster*, as *James I.*
 led to call them) they were royally conducted by Land and
 Water thither. The King, ashamed to see such a Cavalcade
 march by his Palace, retired to *Hampton-Court*, deserted
 his Parliament, and, in a manner, abdicates the Government;
 yet tells them, that the Preservation of their Laws and Li-
 berties is and shall always be his Care. They more truly re-
 ply, they are sorry they can answer his Question, *Have I vio-*
lated the Laws? praying him to consider, The Violation was
 continued before this Parliament sat (ay, from the first Year
 of his unfortunate Reign) That they find just Apprehensions
 of Sorrow and Fear of publick Miseries like to befall him and
 the Kingdom much increased; That the Rebellion in *Ire-*
land was contrived in *England*: They could have told him
 as *Nathan* did *David*) who was the Man and the Woman
 to; That the Rebels boldly (and too truly, as 'twas said)
 affirm, That they do nothing but by Authority from him.
Have any of my Subjects been transported with Fear (says
 he.) No, no, not with the Murder of above 15,0000 Pro-
 testants; 'twas but a vulgar Report, as he told the *Irish*
 Agents at *Oxon*, or as *Laud* call'd it, *The Troubles in Ireland.*
 He was not transported with Fear, therefore *England*, and
 the Remnant of distressed *Irish* Protestants, could not fear an-
 other Massacre. So then away he marches to *Scotland*, far
 enough from hearing the dreadful Complaints and News
 which came daily to his Parliament and City; how Thousands
 were driven into and drowned in Lakes and Rivers; others
 put up in thatch'd Houses and therein burnt; Infants cut out
 of their Mothers Bellies; Virgins stripp'd naked, and thus
 forced to halt their Parents to Execution; Women to hang
 their Husbands; Multitudes left half killed, praying to be
 quickly dispatched and freed from their Torments, reckoning
 it a Kindness, if after weltring in their Blood one or two
 days, any one would knock out their Brains; nay, the
 Rebels Children were taught first to strip and then murder
 protestant Children.

A Message to his Parliament he sends, That being grieved
 at the Calamities of *Ireland*, he resolves to go thither and
 chastise those detestable Rebels. They fearing (as well they
 might) he would go, and bring them over to chastise Par-
 lament and City, and some of the best Protestants, as he did
 in

in the *Star-chamber* and *King's-bench*, petition him again
it, saying, *'I will greatly encourage the Rebels.* They com-
plain of his wicked Counsellors (no Christian King doubt-
had ever so many and so bad) and now declare, That
open War is begun against them, and other loyal Subjects
far unsuitable to his solemn Protestations; in short, that
his Promises have been broken as soon as made; And indeed
says our Author, *they work but feebly on one so accustomed*
break them. He begins a War; and besieges *Hull*; he
forced to raise the Siege. I'll only transcribe the loyal *Cra-*
ley's Words.

*Can we stand by and see
Our Mother bound, and robb'd, and raviſh'd be?
And not to her Assistance ſtir?
Pleas'd with the Strength and Beauty of the Raviſher
Ungrateful Brutus do they call?
Ungrateful Cæſar, who could Rome int'ral;
An Act more barb'rous and unnatural
(In th' exact Ballance of true Virtue try'd)
Than his Succeſſor; Nero's Patricide:*

Great Numbers of sober and consciencious Protestants, for many Years had been cruelly persecuted and oppressed, invited hereunto by the Lords and Commons, two Parts three of the Legislature, or supreme Power, and by the Authority take up Arms (as their Brethren the Scots *pro aris & focis.* Grotius, your admired Oracle asserts, *belli dari posse in Principem populi liberi, qui partem taxat habeat summi Imperii, Partem autem alteram populus, aut senatus.* He reckons up five other Cases, in which says he, *Lex de non-resistendo non obliget in summo & altissimo discrimine.* Your Lord Hartourt said the same of the Trial of your fanatical Doctor, and the famous Puffendorf assigns several Cases, viz. *Si manifestè a Regulis gubernatio dolo malo disceſſerit. Si hostilem in suos animum induit.* These two were manifestly the Cases in a Reign of twenty two Years. Resistance of tyrannical Power is allowed by Scripture and undeniable Reason; The Jews did resist to depose their evil Princes, and God did approve of Resistance as in the Case of David, then a Subject: The primitive Christians did resist their tyrannical Emperors: Protestants of all Ages have resisted Tyrants. A Folio Book may be written of supreme Governors justly depriv'd for evil Government in France, Spain, England, Scotland, the Netherlands,

you know, Mr. Archdeacon, that Queen *Elizabeth*, and your
 King *Charles I.* assisted the *Dutch* and *French* Protestants.
 And the Princess *Anne* and Bishop of *London*, the Lords and
 Gentlemen who met at *Nottingham* (all Subjects) rebel?
 Here they declared, *We own it Rebellion to resist a lawful*
King, who govern'd by Law; but he that made his Will the
Law was always accounted a Tyrant; and to resist such a
Law, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Duty.

On t'other Side, Mr. Archdeacon, what think you of that
 bold Assertion of your great Casuist, Bishop *Sanderson*, who
 in the Case of taking up offensive or defensive Arms, &c.
 with, *None of all this may be done against a lawful Sovereign,*
any time, upon any Colour or Pretence whatsoever (the
express Command of God excepted) not at the Command of
any Power on Earth; not for the Maintenance of the Lives
Liberties of our selves or others; not for the Defence of
Religion, or Preservation of Church and State; no, nor (if
that could be imagin'd possible) for the Salvation of a Soul;
no, nor for the Redemption of the World. In a Layman it
 would perhaps be thought Arrogance to censure all this from a
 Clergyman as fanatical Flights: Such a Climax some will
 excuse, by the favourable Glosses which the Bishop put on
 the Engagement to the Rump, which many of the Episcopal
 Clergy took, and the Presbyterians refused. 'Tis now to be
 hoped, that the silly slavish Doctrine of unlimited Non-re-
 sistance will be no longer heard from the Pulpit or Press;
 nor Mr. *Dodwell's* Whimsey of an uninterrupted Succession of
 Bishops (which must pass thro' an idolatrous Church many
 hundred Years yet) necessary to make Ordinations valid.
 These begin to appear obsolete Things, and as unfashionable
 as the old *Antinomian* Doctrines. The Tyranny of imposing
 on Mens Consciences a Falshood on Oath, viz. *That it is not*
lawful, on any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against
the King, or, &c. was so notorious, that our Lay-Legislators
 were at last ashamed of it; They were always observed to be
 better Casuists, and Friends to Mens civil and religious Li-
 berties than you of the Clergy; and therefore abrogated it
 and other like ensnaring Oaths. On the King's Side was one
 Archbishop, on the Parliament's was the other, Lord-Keeper
 to King *James*, and made Archbishop by King *Charles*: He
 perswaded King *James* to make *Laud* a Bishop, by whom
 he was afterwards outrageously persecuted, imprison'd and
 fined; and by the Parliament's Commission took up Arms
 for them in *North Wales*. Their Armies were fill'd with
 sober Protestants, and well disciplin'd; the King's with Pa-
 pists,

pists, or debauch'd Protestants, too much addicted to Plunder and Rapine (namely, *Goring, Greenfield, &c.*) and Cruelties, such as were acted at *Leicester* and *Bolton*, where Prince *Rupert* put the Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, to the Sword. 'Tis to the immortal Honour of the Puritans (so were religious or sober Protestants called by Laud, and those of his Faction) that they fell in with those noble Patriots who stood up against Tyranny in Church and State without which our Nation must have been ruined, saith the learned Mr. *Pierce*.

The King marches a third time Northward, to make War with his *English* Subjects. The *Yorkshire* Gentlemen petition him to impart his Fears, &c. to his Parliament, whose grave and legal Counsel are the visible Means under God quickly to end the Troubles in *Ireland, &c.* But he, with a *Spanish* Soweriness, tells 'em, their Petition is so confused he knows not what to say to it. *Lancaster* expresses their heart-breaking Sorrow for the Divisions during the Session of so grave and godly an Assembly, who endeavour'd God's Glory in Religion, and Honour in settling his Throne in Peace. That his long Distance from them distracts the Hearts of his Subjects, animates the Papists, hinders the subduing the Rebels; beseeching him to go to his great Council. Alas! God's Glory and Honour, grave and godly, &c. were puritanical Words, odious to him and *Caiaphas*. Another, sign'd by 4774 Gentlemen and Knights of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland* to the same effect. A short Relation of all the bloody Battles and Sieges from 41 to 48 only serves, *Infandum renovare dolorem*. 'Twas observable, that at the Beginning of a great Battle, the Parliament had the worst of it, but in Conclusion the better: So it was at *Marston-moor*, and *Naseby's* decisive Battle; and no Wonder; for as your Lord *Clarendon* owns, The Earl of *Essex*, by Civility and good Discipline, wrought very much on the Country; That Lord *Fairfax's* Officers and Soldiers were of extraordinary Temper and Sobriety; That the King's Commanders grew insensibly into all Disorders and Impiety; That his Horse committed horrid Outrages, &c. That *Greenvil* and *Goring* exercised strange Acts of Tyranny in *Devon* and *Cornwall*; That at *Leicester* Churches and Hospitals became a Prey to the Soldiers. Well! they receiv'd the due Reward of their Sacrilege and Barbarities a few Days after at *Naseby*, where the King in Person had a gallant Body of Horse, superior to the Parliament's, whose left Wing Prince *Rupert* charg'd and routed. The Enemy said: *I will pursue, I will*

will overtake, I will divide the Spoil, &c. And who durst engage us? But whilst he was overbusied in plundering the Parliament's Carriages, and summoning their Artillery, the wary *Fabius* (General *Fairfax*) rallied his dispersed Troops, who in their Turn charged and totally routed the insulting Enemy, pursuing them twelve Miles. In fine, about 5000 Prisoners, all their Artillery, and the King's Cabinet of Letters to or from the Queen, &c. were all taken. *These discover'd such Things* (saith our Author) *as were disadvantageous to his Word and Cause.* This Victory (it pleased God) did almost put an End to a bloody War; to effect which, the Parliament had before sent Lord *Rutland*, and our Commons, with a Declaration of both Houses, to the Convention of Estates in *Scotland*, proposing a Union and their Assistance: The Covenant they sent to *London* by *Lauderdale*, a prime Favourite of *Charles II.* They acknowledged *England's* old Kindnesses to them in 1557 and 1639. and King *Charles First's* Kindnesses in bringing two Armies successively to their Borders to enslave them: They remembered another Indignity he put upon them (which *Richard Baker* mentions) that was enough of it self to have made them shake off his Government, viz. his demanding the Crown to be brought away to *England*, there to crown him. So that 'twas a Wonder how *Scotsmen* should ever own him, having shew'd such an alienated Mind from his native Country, and such a Degeneracy of Spirit in demanding the poor, and almost the only remaining Badge of their Honour, Antiquity, and Independency, to be carried away. But when, and not before, (saith the ingenious Author) he persisted to oppress and persecute them, on account of their Consciences, 'twas no Wonder they reassumed the Spirit of their Ancestors, and let him know, That the Kings of *Scotland* were never allow'd an arbitrary Power; nor did ever any of them usurp it but it prov'd fatal to them or theirs,

Presently after *Naseby* Victory, Lord *Fairfax* sends down Relief to the renowned *Blake* at *Taunton*. Next he marches to the West, and through the Flames of *Langport* pursues and routs the infamous *Goring*, takes the strong Town and Castle of *Bridgewater*, though there were in it 1800 Soldiers, 1000 Officers, Gentlemen, &c. Cannon, and a vast Treasure. Next through *Wells* he proceeded to *Bath*; next to *Sherborn-Castle*; and thence to *Bristol*, where Prince *Rupert* was Governor: All these he quickly master'd. Now might this brave General say as once *Cesar*, *Veni, vidi, vici.* Yet the

War is not quite ended, Sword, Famine, and Fire close the Scene ; and as the loyal Cowley saith,

*Thus twice are Subjects by ill Princes vext,
They suffer by them first, and for them next.*

All know, that by their Prince his Protestant Subjects every Day almost suffered some illegal Oppression in their Consciences, Estates, or Liberties ; by their Prince they suffered all the Miseries of a long Civil War ; and the Irish Protestants suffered a thousand Deaths and Torments in the horrid Massacre ; for their Prince afterwards, the Subjects suffer'd (as may be reasonably thought) Wars, a raging Pestilence and Fire ; for as God Almighty threatned, we read *Judah was vexed with Wars for the Sins of Manasseh, and the innocent Blood which he shed, and God would not pardon.* Yet doubtless, not half so much in his Reign of fifty-five Years, as was spilt in Ireland in fifty-five Days, and in England in five Years. Further yet, we read, that his Successor, *Jehoiackim's* Subjects were, for *Manasseh's* Cruelties (as God had commanded) vext with Wars, &c.

A Civil War being now almost ended, the most tragical Part was acted at Colchester, by the infamous Goring, &c. who, contrary to the Law of Arms and Humanity, ordered their Soldiers to shoot with poison'd Bullets, some of which were found in their Pockets, and in the Besiegers dead Bodies. In Col. Sambrook's, one boil'd in Coperas, and ten shovell'd in Sand in the Pockets of Goring's Men, were found. They fired the Houses about a Mile long. Some almost starv'd were told, they must not complain till Horse-Flesh was 10d. per Pound. The Women and Children [whom they would first starve] coming to the Monster for Food, were told, if the Women wanted they must eat their Children. Lord Fairfax, willing to save the Town from utter Ruin, summoned Goring to surrender it ; but was answered, They would hang the Messenger if sent again : Yet soon after Famine pluck'd down their Stomachs, and forced them to submit to Mercy, which they deserv'd so little. Sir G. Lisle and Sir C. Lucas (who 'twas proved had, with ~~his~~ own Hands in cold Blood, kill'd several) were by a Council of War sentenc'd to be shot to Death. Lord Fairfax in his Letter writes, *Lucas had forfeited his Honour (by shooting with poison'd Bullets, and being his Prisoner, had broke his Parole.* The King asking a Gentleman who another wore the black Ribbon for : He said, 'twas for Sir C. Lucas. The

King wept; but 'tis much to be fear'd he never wept at the Slaughter of 150000 of his peaceable Protestant Subjects in Ireland, nor for firing Colchester, and starving the Soldiers and Inhabitants, which he could not be ignorant of, and by a short Letter or Message to Sir Charles, might have easily prevented, there being scarce any Hope of Relief. What is said before of the Irish Massacre, may here as truly be said of Colchester,

Malum qui non prohibet; cum possit, jubet.

History informs us, saith our Author, that no Princes have done more Mischief to the Commonwealth than those whom the Clergy have honour'd for Saints and Martyrs, who, after they had robbed others, thought to make amends by letting the Church have a Share in the Spoil. Well! tho' many thousand good Protestants can't think King Charles was a Martyr, they believe he raised a noble Army of Martyrs in Ireland, who certainly were put to Death for professing the true Religion; and that their murder'd Children were as truly holy Innocents as those slain by Herod. The Cause of the Church hath been, that they having died the Death of Martyrs, though incapable of making the Choice, God supplied the Defect of their Will, saith Bishop Taylor.

From Colchester I pass to Westminster, where the loyal Commons (so far from Republican Principles, as their Enemies have ever since suggested) April, 1648. voted, That the Government of the Kingdom be still by King, Lords, and Commons. On this Vote, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, the City Representatives, expressed their great Joy. But alas! not long after, they whom Oppression had made mad for many Years before, now again, by their Valour, Victories, and Successes, too much elated, grew mad again; they refuse to obey their old Pay-Masters at Westminster, and set up a Junctō of new ones as mad as themselves, headed by Cromwell without Doors and Vane within. In short, Almighty God seem'd to have rais'd up Cromwell to punish the Stuart Family and their Adherents (English and Irish Papists especially) as Jehu did Ahab's wicked House: And 'tis remarkable, that Cromwell was almost as great a Master in the Art of Dissimulation as Jehu, James I. or Charles II. who lived a secret Papist twenty-seven Years, yet died a professed one. Lord Clarendon gives a judicious Character of Cromwell (and in this his great Talent lay) *He was one of those whom his very Enemies could*
not

not condemn without commending him at the same time ; for he could never have done half that Mischief without great Parts, Industry, and Judgment ; he must have a wonderful Understanding in the Nature and Humours of Men, and a great a Dexterity in applying them, who from a private and obscure Birth (though of a good Family) without Interest of Estate, Alliance or Friendship, could raise himself to such a Height. He attempted such Things which no Man durst have ventured on ; and atchieved those in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. And here, for your sake, Mr. Archdeacon, and the fond Admirers of Lord Clarendon's History, I'll transcribe a short Character of him too from your Friend Mr. O——'s Book lately published, intitled, *Clarendon and Whitlock compar'd* ; to which is occasionally added, a Comparison between the History of the Rebellion, and other Histories of the Civil War, proving very plainly, That the Editors of Lord Clarendon's History have hardly left one Fact or Character on the Parliament's Side represented fairly, That the Characters are all Satyr or Panegyrick ; and the Facts adapted to the one or the other Side as suited best with their Design. Now then, of him who came to the Throne a rightful King, and the Usurper, one may venture to speak a few Truths : *The King discountenanced and oppressed his Protestant Subjects of three Kingdoms ; Cromwell encouraged Protestants and their Religion at home and abroad ; as far as the Alps he extended his Care of the Protestant Vaudois, persecuted by the Duke of Savoy, and of Irish Protestants, the Remainder of whom that had escaped the Massacre he took care to preserve : The King was indeed very kind to the prime Actors ; Cromwell took deserved Vengeance on the Cut-throats when he stormed Wexford, Tredah, Clonmel, and at the Rout of Ormond's Army of Papists, &c. The King precipitantly would begin a War, set out two or three Fleets and an Army against France, carry to the Scots Borders two gallant Armies (all which cost England several Millions, extorted from the poor Subjects without and against Law) but himself, his Generals, Buckingham, Conway, &c. had neither Conduct, military Skill or Courage, fitter for a Court or Starchamber-Bench than a Fleet or Army. Cromwell, by his own, his Officers and Soldiers Valour and good Conduct (next under God) was victorious every where against the Enemies of our Religion and Nation ; over the incroaching Dutch, the haughty Spaniard (whose whole Fleet was destroyed by the renowned Blake*

Blake

ake * at Sancta Cruce) and the Turks in Africa ; as Lucan
 th, Vincula dedit Oceano. The King usually employ'd in
 the highest Offices in Court, Camp, Fleet, &c. Papists, or
 hauched Protestants of no Religion (I always except the
 rds Hopton and Falkland) Sir A. Ashton and Gage [the Ld. Clav
 st Jesuited Papist in the World, saith our Author.] he made
 vernoers of his Protestant University. Cromwell employ'd
 ne but professed Protestants, Lovers of their Country,
 thful and valiant ; namely Monk, Duke of Albemarle,
 ontague, Earl of Sandwich, and Blake their Fellow-Ad-
 ral, who humbled the Pirates of Tripoli, Tunis, and
 giers, sent home three Millions of Pieces of Eight, five
 ail Ships richly laden, and nine Outward-bound ; and last-
 the brave Lockhart, who with 6000 English Veterans [the
 Troops that then, or ever before were in Europe] joyn'd the
 nous Turenne (as great a Warrior almost as Cromwell).
 e English, in short, routed the Spanish Army, which, un-
 Don John of Austria, came to relieve Dunkirk ; in pur-
 ng whom, the French on their Part shew'd undaunted
 urage.

Dr. Wellwood in his Memoirs saith, That Cromwell having
 reed with the French King, that if Dunkirk were taken,
 should be put into Cromwell's Hands ; he sent hastily for
 French Ambassador to Whitehall, and upbraided him
 ickly, that his Master had sent private Orders to Turen-
 (in that Case) to possess it for himself : The Ambassa-
 protested [truly perhaps] that he knew nothing of it, and
 g'd Leave to assure his Highness, there was no such thing
 ught on ; Cromwell incensed hereat, pull'd a Paper out of
 Pocket ; here, said he, is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order
 his General ; and I desire you, Sir, to dispatch immedi-
 ely an Express, to let him know, that I am not to be impo-
 on ; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of Dunkirk
 Lockhart, within an Hour after it shall be taken ; tell him,
 come in Person and demand them at the Gates of Paris ;
 hich daring Message had its Effect, for 'twas soon taken
 d put into his Hands. He might have had it betray'd to
 m for Money, but scorn'd the Offer ; as soon would he
 ve sold Portsmouth to France as Dunkirk : But an effemi-
 te lewd Prince did afterwards sell it, *Hinc illæ Lachry-*
mæ,

* While that impious Business of the King's Tryal was depending,
 said often, he would as freely venture his Life to save the King's,
 ever he had done it to serve the Parliament.

*me, for Money to squander away on Pimps and Whores
&c.*

Another Tragedy is now acted by the wild Army-Enthusiasts, by whom the King was carried to *Hurst-Castle*; when the Commons voted, was without their Advice and Consent. *Mr Pryn* Such an Instance of a Subject's unparalleled Loyalty to his Prince [at least equal to that of *Zopyrus*] who had inflicted on him Torments and many Years Banishment, &c. was rather than Death, is not to be found in any History. He delivered in a Speech of two Hours long, by many Arguments persuaded his Fellow-Members to an Agreement with the King. They sitting all Day and Night, voted, His Concessions at the *Isle of Wight*, were a sufficient Ground for settling the Peace of this Kingdom, and that seven of their House go and acquaint the General therewith; the City also, and the Scotch Commissioners concurr'd with this Vote; these had no more Mind to reduce Monarchy to a Republick, than to restore the Episcopacy, *said the Lord Clarendon*. Now then 'twas high Time for *Cromwell* and his Partisans to bestir themselves: they sent two Regiments to guard the Doors and Avenues to the House of Commons, letting in and keeping out whom they pleased, and imprisoning those whom they call'd *Presbyterians*, namely, *Sir H. Grimstone, Sir R. Harley, Sir J. Onslow, Sir W. Waller, General Massey, Mr. Pryn, Mr. Strode, &c.* Next the remaining Rump made the fatal Vote of Non-Addresses to the King, and ordered a Charge to be drawn up against him. The *Presbyterians* [you know, they were under Hatches, rail'd on by the Army-Sectaries, yet at this amazing Juncture, they not only prayed and preached but did, when no other Party had the Courage (in their own and in the Name of all their Brethren in England) subscribed a Declaration, presenting it to the General, and his Council of War, protesting against any Violence to be offered to the King, and expressing their utmost Abhorrence of any so wicked Act, urging them to take Heed of it; this and more to the same Purpose was subscribed by sixty of their eminent Ministers in and about *London*. And in their Exhortations to the People, they profess, *We hold our selves bound to God, Religion, the King and Parliament, to declare before God, Angels and Men, that the taking away the King's Life, &c. is contrary to the Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion, the fundamental Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom, the Oath of Allegiance, &c. from any or all which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth able to absolve us or others.* Printed by *Thomas Underhill, 1648.*

Now then, by the mad Men of the Army, &c. they were all'd Traytors, for conspiring to save the King's Life, and ever after frown'd on by *Cromwell* and his Adherents. But alas! to the Grief of those honest loyal Protestants, and the amazement of all *Europe*, he that ruled Nations in Anger persecuted, and none hindereth. *Had Zimri Peace, who slew his Master* *? No; 'twas a wicked Act, tho' 'twas a wicked King, [*Elah*] who was slain for his own and his Father's Sins; as Almighty God had before threatned. 'Twas great Truth which the King said at last, *God does many times inflict Justice; by an unjust Sentence*. Many good Protestants apply this to himself and not to *Sirafford*, whose Sentence, as appears by his Trial, was very just. The King did indeed support his Character becoming him, he died like a Christian; his Devotion and Fortitude were remarkable: alas, the same you say, Sir, of his Grandmother *Mary*, who was beheaded for the worst kind of Treason, whose Character you have *Page 2d*. 'Twas said of *Minos*,

Vitasq; & Crimina discir.

He was said to be a just Judge, no Respector of Persons. Almighty God, you know, is said not to accept the Persons of Princes. *Charles I.* (saith a judicious Author) *was much inclin'd to a Middle-way 'twixt Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one, without gaining the other*. Whereby appears, that tho' he died not a Papist, yet he died for them; no Martyr for the People sure, as himself said; nor *Sirafford* (as good a Martyr) of whom saith *Cleveland*,

*He spent his Time here in a Mist,
A Papist, yet a Calvinist.*

There have not been wanting some [in our Author's Words] who endeavoured to justify; or at least excuse the King's De-
llation (so bad as it was) by a famous Precedent, viz. that of *Mary*, a Sovereign Queen; who by the repeated Addresses of *Queen Elizabeth's Parliament* was beheaded. By what *Cicero* says, [the wisest Man that ever *Rome* or *Athens* bred] when pleading for *Dejotarus*, 'Twas no unjust Thing, said he, that a King should be put to Death, (for a Capital Crime

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he

* You remember, Sir, who it was that said, Behold, against this Family do I devise an Evil, &c.

he meant) *tho' 'twas not usual*. By what your Oracle *Grotius* asserts, *Qui Principes sub Populo sunt, si peccent in legem ac Republicam, non tantum vi repelli possunt, sed si opus sit puniri Morte, quod Pausania Lacedaemoniarum regi contigit*. By that old Maxim, *Salus Populi, suprema Lex*, and the older Law of Nature, Self-Preservation and Defence. They dreaded the dire Effect of that old *English* Proverb, *Revenge is sweet*, and the many Executions which would follow when he re-ascended the Throne. They remembered also that the Lord *Loudon* sent to the King from *Scotland*, as their Commissioner, was sent to the Tower, and his Head by him ordered to be struck off, (without any Trial, or hearing what he had to say) if Duke *Hamilton* had not with great Earnestness hindred it. Other remarkable Incidents also came into their Minds, *viz.* that 'twas *January 30*, when King *James* told his Parliament, *there is a Talk of a Match with Spain, but if it shall not be a Furthurance to Religion*, [that of *Rome* perhaps he meant, for it could not be to the Reformed] *I am not worthy to be your King; I will not proceed but to the Glory of God, and Content of my Subjects*; and their Discontent it was, as all the World knew. *January 30* the Lords and Commons petition his Son for appointing a publick Fast, to implore Almighty God for diverting the *Miseries* of the Reformed Churches abroad, but he (the unhappy Cause of many of them) tells the Parliament in a taunting Way, *Fighting would do more good than fasting, and that he was not satisfied with the Necessity of it*. Well, the Day twenty Years after, he was perhaps better satisfied with the Necessity of it. *January 30* he sent an Order to pay 30000*l.* or thereabout, to *Burlemark*, for bringing over *England*, *German* Horse. Lastly, on the 30th of *January* 1648. The Articles of a general Peace between the Potentates and States of *Europe*, (*England* excepted) were signed at *Munster*. Ill Conduct, and a Male-Administration had a long Time made her despised every where, till a few Years after, when it pleased God, in Mercy to a Protestant Nation almost ruined, to restore its Trade, and by the Valour and good Conduct of those brave Men employ'd (p. 24.) to raise her martial Reputation higher than ever since Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign. And now, Mr. Archdeacon, I can truly say, that I have not hitherto made any voluntary Mistake or Untruth in what I have said or transcribed from others; if any of these be culpable, I am not accountable.

Charles II. is now by the loyal *Scots* sent for from *Holland*, here *Buckingham*, (the debauched Son of a more debauched Father, a mighty Favourite of *Charles I.*) was his Tutor, as 'tis said Mr. *Hobs* also was, and whose accursed *Levianathan* seasoned him betimes with Principles of Atheism and arbitrary Government. In *Scotland* the new King put on a new religious Countenance, took the Covenant in a very solemn Manner, and by a publick Instrument declared he did voluntarily and heartily, lamented the Sins of his Father's House, and the Guilt of the late War. But *Cromwell* put quickly an end to his Reign there, and his Profession of the Presbyterian Discipline, which long after he told *Lauderdale* [a zealous Covenanter] 'Twas a Religion not fit for a Gentleman. Two things stood not before him, the first at *Naseby*; the second at *Worcester*; from whence the new King escaped to *France*, where he's at Liberty to go to Mass, and visit Courtezans as often as he will.

In 1659 *Monk* came from *Scotland* to *London*: the Presbyterians of their Penury gave him Money for his March, and were as well paid again by Bishop *Sharp*, and the Duke, as the Dutch Protestants were by the Duke *D'Alva*; in *England* they appeared successfully loyal, namely the Earl of *Manchester*, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord-Mayor, who by Dr. *Combs's* Advice invited *Monk* to a Dinner in the City, and drew him to join with them, Mr. *Calamy* and others, called Presbyterians, against the Rump: He then brings in the secluded Members to sit again, who [tho' very willing to restore the King] made a Declaration, which the General and Officers were to sign, *That the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament was just and lawful*. And that called the Healing Parliament (comparing it with the following, which might have healed, but did tear *English* Protestants in Pieces by a perpetual Ordinance, and others almost as bad) also declare, *That the long Parliament drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to condign Punishment, without a Pledge against the King's Person, much less against his Life, as they could appeal to God, and their own Consciences*. Let me tell you truly, Mr. Archdeacon, these five Lines are sufficient Answer to, and a Confutation of the numberless thirtieth of *January* Sermons, for above 60 Years. This Healing Convention desir'd Mr. *Baxter*, who they knew was of the same Mind, to preach before them, which he did so effectually, that the next Day they voted the King's Restoration. But you, Sir, in your own Way pick up some Dirt to throw at him and them: You say, *either he was perplexed in*

*his Understanding, or indisposed for closing Differences. That this was his great Endeavour, may be seen in the Narrative of his Life *. He had a moving pathetical Way of Writing, was of great Piety, and Zeal, and much Simplicity, faith the late Bishop. He had cultivated every Subject he had handled, his practical Discourses were never mended, and his controversial Ones seldom confuted, faith the pious and learned Bishop Wilkins. Who, besides one perplex in his Understanding, wont think these better Judges than a partial Archdeacon? Would you, Sir, refuse a good Bishoprick? So did Mr. B. and Mr. Calamy, those of Litchfield and Hereford. Of their, Dr. Bates's, and Dr. Manton's Loyalty, the King was so well assured, that he made them his Chaplains, as he did Dr. Spurstow, of great Humility and Peaceableness, faith Dr. C. yet who, you fallily say, was a great Incendiary. True it is, that your Laud was a greater Incendiary than the Church an World ever saw, but you, kind Sir, reckon him a Man of Piety and Zeal; a Zeal it was, like that of the Spanish Friar tormenting Protestants in their Inquisition-House, as Laud did Protestants in his Star-chamber: in short, a Zeal it was which set three Protestant Nations on Fire. The Dirt thrown on Dr. Spurstow you quickly wiped off, yet knowing it must leave a little Spot behind, he was, say you, ejected from his Mastership of Catherine-hall, for refusing the Engagement as were Dr. Rainbow, and the famous Mr. Vines, whom the Parliament sent to the Isle of Wight, where discoursing of Church Government, &c. the King said Vines, was in the right. The Sectarious easily swallow'd the Engagement and so did the King's old Cavaliers, faith Mr. B. not heartily, doubtless, few of them being sick of that call'd Tenderness of Conscience; yet to make it go down more glibly your great Casuist, Bishop Sanderfon, [as Dr. C. tells you] his nine Cases wrote for the taking it, and pleaded for putting a favourable Construction thereon; as many of your best Writers have done, to make the Declaration of Assent and Consent and several Oaths besides, get down more easy; yet after that hath been said and written, Church Preferments, Benefices, &c. were and are the *Ratio ultima rerum*. The Engagement imposed by the Rump was in these Words: I promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as it*

* In what he says here of the Rise and Progress of the Civil War the Reader, who is no Party-Man, may see Mr. B. gives a more partial Account than any Writer of either Side.

now established, without a King or House of Lords. How any loyal Man could swallow this I can't imagine.

The King now came to London, to whom, as he passed through, the Presbyterian Ministers presented a curious Bible; which, said he, *shall be the Rule of my Actions*: More truly the Subject of his Drollery. If Enthusiasm had before slain its Thousands, now Debauchery of all kinds slew its ten Thousands; it first possessed the Court, now (as 'tis said the City of Naples once was) one great *Lupanar*; next *Westminster*; and then (*Regis ad exemplum*) the whole Kingdom; yet did *Skeldon*, *Morley*, and other good natur'd Convocation Men (of whom they were the prime Leaders, and knew too well the King's lewd Practices) make a new Prayer, in which they gave him the superlative Title of *our most religious King*. The Primitive Christians did indeed pray for their vitious Emperors, but were not so prophane sure to knock God in his House, with a deliberate Untruth, and say of *Trajan*, or *Julian* the Apostate, our most religious Emperor. The Parliament too, as wise as the Convocation, ratified this new Prayer, and two new Lessons out of the two Heroines, *Judith* and *Susanna's* Stories; and a new Law too they made for punishing honest Men for speaking Truth, *viz.* That the King was a Papist.

In 1663. the two Popish Brothers began a War with a Protestant State; to maintain which 'twas a free Parliament indeed, which at once gave the King two Millions and half, and afterwards five more, to enable him to destroy our Religion, and squander away a great Part of it in Lewdness, &c. A Court unctio for these Ends contriv'd to raise an Army, which without a Parliament should raise Money, without and against Law, as was the Practice of the foregoing Reign. But the pious Lord *Southampton*, remonstrating to Lord *Clarendon*, That they had seen the ill Effects of a military Government in *Cromwell's* Army, tho' sober and well disciplin'd, he believ'd a debauch'd one would be much worse: Herein they both agreed, and the Snare was broken, and we and our posterity escaped the Loss of our Religion and Liberties. When there was no King in our *Israel*, every Man did not that which was right in his own Eyes: They that were drunk, were drunk in the Night, and punished for it in the Day; but now they declare their Sin as *Sodom*, they hide it not.

Episcopacy being set up in Scotland, the vilest Men were exalted in Church and State, and the soberest Protestants cruelly persecuted, by those two Apostates, *Archbishop Sharp* and *Lauderdale*, Monsters of Barbarity and Perfidiousness;

ness; and after them, the Duke tyrannized more than either of 'em. *Paterson*, and his Fellow Bishops, in their Address offer'd to concur with *James* in Matters relating to Popery, provided the Laws might still continue to be executed on the Presbyterians: He said, the Protestant and Popish Religion were so equally stated in his Mind, that a few Grains of Loyalty turn'd the Ballance. In both Points, *Bancroft*, and other Bishops in his Time, *Laud*, &c. of his Faction, and *Sheldon*, &c. of his persecuting Tribe, were of the same Mind. Of Persecution (the worst Mark of any Church next to Idolatry, the worst Part of Popery, the greatest Disgrace of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, till our true Protestant, King *William* put a happy End to it here) read the noble Postscript, p. ult. which I wish all of a persecuting Spirit would well consider. Out of *English* Clergymen I always except the Archbishops *Grindal* and *Abbot*, Bishop *Williams*, Bishop *Hall*, and *Morton*, The only Scots Archbishop, the incomparable *Leighton*, the famous *Irish* Archbishop *Usher*, & Bishop *Bedel*; and since, the pious and learned *Wilkins*, and a few more. *Sheldon* himself (saith another Bishop) was so deep engag'd in Politicks, that he seem'd not to have a deep Sense of Religion, if any at all, and spoke of it as an Engine of Government; but Almighty God, and his late Vicegerent, have filled the Bishops Bench (formerly called the dead Weight, when any good Bill was depending in their House) with pious and peaceable Divines; so that of the old Sheldonian Tribe, there is not one of them left.

After a devouring Plague and Fire, so great a Treasure being spent on *Mars* abroad, and *Venus* and her lewd Retinue at home, the effeminate King was not able to set out his Fleet at Spring; so the *Dutch* (as you have heard, Sir) came and destroy'd our great Ships at *Chatham*, to his and the Nation's inexpressible Shame and Loss. After which, a lewd Comedy began at *Dover-Court*, where the King met his Sister, the Dutchess of *Orleance*, whom his Brother *Lewis* had sent (and with her the infamous Strumpet, *Portsmouth*) to perswade him to break the famous tripple League; to effect which she let him lie with her, while *Buckingham* kept the Door. You have own'd, Sir, I think, that Sir *R. Willis* and Col. *Doleman* said to Monk: If you call home the King, you'll put the Government of the Kingdom under Pimps and Whores. The Play at *Dover-Court* ended in a doleful Tragedy at *Paris*; for jealous *Orleance*, informed with that Part of her wife ~~which~~ had acted at *Dover*, welcomed her home with a strong Potion of Poison, whereof she soon died in great Torment.

thus did the two Kings attain their Ends, by such a horrid complication of Adultery, Incest, Treachery, Murder and Bloodshed, as you, who have read Volumes, have not met with in all your Reading (excepting that of King James's Mother, her two Sparks, *Bothwell*, and the *Italian Fidler*) her, King James and his three Successors, an intelligent reader of our best *English* History will be at a Loss in determining (not who was the best of the Five, but) who was the worst of 'em, and did the greatest Mischief.

The King having consumed about six Millions, as before, wants more to prosecute his black Designs against *Holland* and the Protestant Religion; so he shuts up the *Exchequer*, and becomes a royal Bankrupt in the literal Words; Multitudes of poor Widows and Orphans were beggar'd or undone. By Proclamation he solemnly promis'd to make good the whole debt, which was 120000 *l.* but never did or intended to do so. Such a treacherous, base and unjust Action, sober Heavens would abhor.

The two Popish Kings now surprize a Protestant State by Sea and Land, which they and the Duke design to enslave, and next *England*. *Lewis* in Person went as far as *Brussels*; *Charles* sent his old debauch'd Tutor to the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew; telling him, he must not think any more of his Country; for all was lost, and repeating it, said: *Don't you see it lost?* 'Twas in great Danger, replied the young Hero, but there was a sure Way left never to see it so, viz. to die in the first Ditch or Breach. As old *Rome*, when driven to the Brink of Ruin (*Hannibal ad portas*) chose a Dictator, vested with unlimited Power; so did this new Commonwealth restore the Prince to his hereditary Right of Stadtholder, which his renowned Ancestors had long enjoyed. Soon after he, with an early Courage, and the Conduct of an old General, first made a Stand with his little army, by securing the strong Pass of *Woden*, re-took *Naerden*, the Key of *Amsterdam*, though 3000 *French* were in it, and well furnished with all Necessaries. In short, young *Fabius*, *insulto restituit rem*, having secured *Holland*, he begins to go on the offensive, besieges and takes the strong Town of *Breda*, marches up to the *Rhine*, takes *Bonn*, and thence to *Münster*, the Siege of which *Lewis* cover'd (and himself safe and warm in his Trenches.) You, Mr. Archdeacon, having made a fine Parallel between the bloody Queen *Mary* and her Sister Queen *Elizabeth*, and given *Mary* the Pre-eminence, would incline one to make a Parallel between the *Nassau* and *Stuart* Princes, if the Comparison would

would not detract from the just Reputation and Honour of the first, who for several Ages were the renowned Champions of the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of their Country; whereas our *Stuart* Princes, by their Pusillanimity, or worse, subverted or weakened both. The two last form'd an execrable Plot to ravish from the City of *London*, and other Corporations in *England*, their Charters; so that both King might in a short time procure such Mayors and returning Officers, and consequently such new Laws enacted, and one repealed, as would establish Popery, and perpetual Slavery in three Protestant Nations. But will Posterity believe, that the Fathers of the Church, and their Elder Sons, Archdeacons, Deans, &c. were so obsequious to please the Court, and to join with them in this black Contrivance; so they did, when *Charles II.* by his Brother's Instigation became more cruel than ever, by shedding some of the best Protestant Blood in *England* and *Scotland*, and a barbarous Persecution of conscientious Protestants through both Kingdoms, whilst Popish Priests, &c. were permitted to seduce Multitudes to their idolatrous Church. Yet all this did not satisfy the Duke and them, who reckon'd his Brother made not so much haste as they would have him to establish Popery and an arbitrary Government, though he had told 'em, in his new *Eicon Basilicon* (of which he was as truly the Author as his Father was of the first) *If the Catholicks grumble at the Slowness of my Progress, let them know the Work I am about is Church Work.* This made 'em so impatient, that Feb. 1. he began to be indispos'd, took some Spoon-Meat which had one or two Ingredients in it; so that his strong Constitution was so quickly disorder'd, that his Physicians despair'd of his Life. *Portsmouth* now sat with him, in upon the Bed, much like the Harlot *Delilah*, making *Samson* sleep on her Knees. Whoever reads Dr. *Welwood's* judicious Memoirs, can hardly forbear concluding the King was poison'd, and by whom; for his Body stunk so extremely within a few Hours after his Death, though the Season was cold, that it offended all about him. *Solomon*, you know, says, *The Memory of the Just is blessed* (so it is and ever will be of King *Edward VI.* King *William* and his excellent Consort) *but the Name of the Wicked shall rot*, as often times their Bodies do above Ground, as *Charles II.*'s did; and sometimes even whilst alive, as 'twas affirm'd King *James* did, and his first Consort, who was so tainted by him (as our Historian) that her Breast, a Mass of Corruption, which stunk as bad as *Charles* did. His next Wife's Child

ed into the Grave when very young; Dr. *Lowes* being
 d to one of them, was heard to say, *Mala stamina vite*,
 were born with Ulcers, or they broke out afterwards.
 Brother would say, that the Duke's Priests did impose
 the Flesh on him (in *Lent* perhaps) as a Penance for his
 offes the rest of the Year. King *James I.* would stink
 times after he had drank *Greek Wine*; but all was made
 before he was laid in Bed: A sweet House indeed.

James, the just, the chaste, the wise, the merciful, the va-
 the Darling of the Papists and High-Church Protestants,
 eds his Brother. He began his unfortunate Reign with a
 wise to his Privy Council (which he repeated to his Parlia-
 ; but never intended to make good) that he would main-
 the Church of *England*, and the Liberties and Properties
 Subjects; but as the Parliament told his Father, his
 wises were broken as soon as made; for he quickly issued
 proclamation for levying the Customs and Additional Ex-
 against Law; yet no Body durst complain; and few
 ar'd to talk of it. A trayterous Bill was by his Partisans
 ight into the House, which made it High-Treason to
 k, &c. in disparagement of his Person or Government:
 that if an honest Minister should preach or write against
 atory or Prayer in an unknown Tongue, and be try'd for
Jefferies or *Witbers* would have directed the Jury to find
 guilty, and order'd his Execution. But this mad Bill was
 s'd effectually by that brave old Nestor, *Maynard*, who
 four Years before was a Manager for those brave Patriots
 attainted *Strafford*.

the Barbarity of *Jefferies* Western Campaign, Lady *Lise's*
collation (who at her Trial slept for Age or Unconcerned-
) and Mrs. *Gaunt's* burning at a Stake, were abhorr'd by
 except Papists and High-Church Protestants. Sober Men,
 too much Reason, fear'd the King would, as soon as he
 a full Power, be as busy in his Executions of the best Pro-
 ents, as the bloody Duke *D'Alva* was in the *Nether-*

a Letter from the Jesuits of *Leigè* to those of *Friburg*;
 tell 'em, That the Duke was receiv'd into a Communi-
 on of their Order, and resolv'd on the Conversion of
 land, or to die in the Attempt; ay, and as good a Martyr
 y of the whole Family. Now then by a Proclamation
 an Indulgence to Dissenters (whom he ever hated more
 those of the National Church, because these were his
 er Friends, and always on his Side.) He boasts, that by

his * absolute Power all his Subjects were bound to him *without Reserve*. This slavish Doctrine he had learnt from the *Oxford Decree* and *Cambridge Address*, sent by Dr. Gower, I think, telling King *Charles*, that Religion, Law, Fault, or Forfeiture, could alter the hereditary Right of Succession to the Crown: Since which Succession has been happily alter'd, and many of the dressers, doubtless, were sworn to it. *Oxon* promised *James* their Obedience without any Restriction or Limitation. The Clergy of *Bristol* say, he was a Prince to whom there was no rising up, and only less than God himself. *Gaz.* N^o 2013.

N.B. The Members of our Church (saith one of her Fathers) who had for many Years sacrificed their Reason and Reputation, if not their Religion for his Service, were the Objects of his Reproaches. The Sheriffs of London, inviting him to the Lord Mayor's Feast, he commanded to go and invite the Pope's Nuncio too, who came accordingly, though a very unwelcome Guest; for the honest Lord Mayor, forced on the City by himself, disowned the Invitation; in their Book entered, That he came without their knowledge, &c. They refusing to answer some Queries he put 'em about the Penal Laws and Test, he grew angry, said the Dissenters were an ill-natur'd People, that could be gain'd; than which a greater Commendation he could give them, who, like an ancient Hero threatned by an Egyptian Tyrant, feared not the Wrath of the King; used to say, He was their King, and would be obey'd, make those who oppos'd, feel it. High-Church Bishops, own'd, were more obsequious to him; for in the Nuncio's Train, at his publick Entry, *Cartwright* march'd along, the two Sheriffs met him at *Temple-Bar*. The Bishop of *Sprat*, *Cartwright*, and another of the Crew, did worse, know, in assisting *Jefferies* in the illegal High-Commission Court; where their Language to honest Clergymen, standing at the Bar, was — It is the King's Pleasure that you be suspended, depriv'd, &c. I have read, that Monsieur *Robert* would say of old *Lewis's* prime Minister, *Colbert*, was the greatest Rogue that was ever seen. And may not the same be a truly said of *Buckingham*, prime Favourite to

* He declared on the Bench, that preaching in a private Meeting was High-Treason.

ings, his Son ; and *Laud*, if he were not a Bishop ; *Laud*, *Archbishop Sharp*, and *Jefferies*? With these four many hundred Protestants fought with Beasts, as *St. Paul* at *Ephesus*.

King *James* now leads his Brother Jesuit, *Petre*, into the Privy-Council Chamber, who, 'twas said, threatned, that the Bishops then in the *Tower* should be made to eat their dung, &c. At this dreadful Crisis, all good Protestants in City and Country were at their Wits End, their Hearts melted, their Hands were faint at the dismal Prospect of the impending Ruin of their Religion, Liberties, Laws and Properties ; but our two Protestant Universities cared for none of those Things, they seemed to be smitten by Almighty God with Blindness, to grope at Noon-day as if they had no Eyes to see their Fathers in Prison, and their Mother Church on the Brink of Destruction.

The Jesuits had, long before *Perkin's* Birth, made this rich, and shew'd it to an *Englishman*,

Pro natis Jacobe gemis:flos candide regum?
Hos natura tibi si neget, astra dabunt.

Dost mourn for Sons, dear *James*, white Flow'r of Kings,
If Nature won't, Heav'n will bestow good Things.

But O! tell it not in the Streets of *Ascalon* or *Rome*, lest they rejoyce to hear so many learned Members of two Protestant Universities to copy after a Jesuit, in congratulating the Father of a spurious Offspring ; they were not young Heads, but D. D. Dons, Heads of Colleges, Vice-Chancellors, and others of long Standing, who composed two Volumes of poems, address'd to the pretended Father, Mother, and Son. The Prologue to the *Cambridge* Comedy was spoken by their Vice-Chancellor. *Tu Diva, & Diva Parens!* Mr. *Westly*, author of *Christ's Life*, in a Rapture sings,

Divinely mixt, the Great and Good appear,
And all alike is scatter'd every where ;
Hail, Child of Miracles! hail Son of Pray'r!

Prophanely mixt it is, indeed, yet agreeable with the Jesuits, *fra dabunt.*

Mr. *Codrington* of *Christ's-Church*, the first in the Catalogue, has more of Prophaneness, if not Blasphemy,

*And fain they would some Tribute pay
To the young God they one time must obey.*

This is enough for a Specimen of more such prophane and irreverent Stuff, as may be found in a large Collection, intituled *State Amusements*, p. 37, 48, &c. But he that sitteth in the Heavens did laugh at these insatuated Men, and frustrate the Tokens of Liars. And when *English* Protestants despair of any Relief on Earth, Almighty God raised up and sent them a Deliverer, who, like the great *Cyrus*, subdued Enemies, and won the Hearts of his Friends in three Nations. These of the highest Rank, &c. he was invited over to our Rescue, and generally welcomed by good Protestants, he became the only Person upon Earth that was able, willing, and had the Right to save us from worse than *Babylonish* Captivity. The brave Hero comes to *London*, and is waited on by the Nobility, and others of all Ranks

His Father-in-law, under a Load of Confusion, Guilt, and Fear, sends for the Bishops, tells 'em (as he used to do) of his Affection to the Church of *England*, which he always loved with the same Tenderneſs as the Wolf has for Lambs. At three in the Morning he fled away with *Hales* in a wretched Boat; what Pity if reduced to a *Date obolum* or *lufario*? Happy for *England*, that he had neither Courage, Discretion, or Conduct, to bring his pernicious Designs to Maturity. † *England* first, and *Scotland* next, declar'd for the Prince (*Edinburgh-Castle* excepted) but their Bishops wrote to *James* a reflecting Letter on the Prince, and wished for the Necks of his Enemies; which was printed in the *Gazette* for a Pattern to the *English*. Lord *Dundee* had mightily pleased 'em by his Cruelties to Protestants, whom he would shoot on the High-way for refusing to swear what he would have them: So the Papists and Episcopal Protestants adhered to him; but they were routed by King *William*, and he fled

The abdicating King * flies away to the grand Enemy and Terror of *England* (saith your late Brother, *Archdeacon Hill*) and leaves us to shift for our selves. He ever pursues our general Ruin against the Laws, his Oath, the Ties of natural Affection, and the Sighs of his People.

† That Disappointments and Remorse did not kill him is no Wonder; for a Coward never breaks his Heart.

Jacobus Secundus.

Anagram

Caecus } *nudus* { *abis* * *Fugitivo nulla Cura*
Coecus } *obis* }

The spurious Brat is brought to *Paris* ; where was published a Book, intituled, *The old Bastard (Lewis) Protector of the young (Jemmy.)* For discovering the Author, *Lewis*, nettled at the stinging Truth, offered 5000 Livres.

February 13, You remember, Sir, with Pleasure I hope, was the Day on which the best King since *Edward VI.* and the best Queen that ever reign'd, were declared King and Queen of *England*, &c. and soon after of *Scotland*. Both Kingdoms, you know, left two long Rolls to Posterity of the late King's illegal Oppressions and Cruelties ; and as many might his Father's last Parliament have left us of his. The pious Archbishop King hath oblig'd three Protestant Nations with an excellent History of the barbarous Usage of *Irish* Protestants, by the Monster *Tirconnel* first, and his Master afterwards.

The Duke [for he was no higher now] and his *Insanum Parliamentum*, at once attainted about 3000 of the *English* Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, &c. and some Women and Children to accompany 'em, *risum teneatis* : And if his Power had been as great as his Hatred of Protestants, above half the Men and Women too, 'twas thought, would have been executed in good earnest ; For no Protestant, saith the Bishop, was secure of his Life, and less of his Estate and Liberty. Such Facts being wrested to Treason (as at the Close of his Brother's Reign) which were nothing so by Law. But King *William* having routed him and his Cut-throats at the *Boyn*, from whence he was one of the first that ran away ; having been of the Jesuits Order for many Years, he's now become one of the Mendicants at his Brother *Lewis's* House : Where he's at leisure to meditate revengeful Designs ; his Host hoping to make *England* repay him well at last for Board-Money, and all Arrears of Rent, &c. furnish'd him with a Fleet and Army, to get into *England* with Fire and Sword (as his own Words were) But Almighty God frustrated their black Designs, by giving King *William* and his Kingdoms a very signal Victory over the Enemies Fleet at *La Hogue*, where 14 great Men of War were burnt, and nine more destroy'd. The Flames and Smoak were seen by the effeminate Duke on the *Terra Firma*, far enough out of Harm's Way. This broke all the hellish Plot of assassinating his Son, which doubtless *James* was not ignorant of : But Almighty God be praised for taking him away not long after to the Land of Darkness, where the Wicked cease from troubling ; for on September 2d, (the Day on which *London* was burnt by his Encouragement, and his Priests Contrivance) he fainted away, and soon after died.

died. The *Good-Friday* before hearing the Anthem, *Lam. 3. 1, 2, 3, &c. Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us, consider and behold our Reproach, &c.* it gave him a heavy Shock which he never recover'd. On that Day perhaps he remembered what a good King said to a bad Man: *Thou knowest all the Wickedness thine Heart is privy to, What thou didst to the poor Protestants in Scotland, next in England, and at last in Ireland; therefore the Lord shall return thy*—

They who accompanied him from *France* to *Ireland*, abhorred his Proceedings; saying, he not only hated the *English* Protestants, but the *Englishmen*. His Grandfather also illighted these, and doated on the *Scots*; and his Father's great Favourites (next to a wicked Triumvirate, *Buckingham, Laud, and Strafford*) were the *Irish* Papists. His *Oxon* Parliament might have truly said to him (as you know *Peter* did to his Master) *We have forsaken all and followed you; what shall we have therefore?* Why hardly Thanks or a kind Word, for all they did or suffer'd for him.

In a Letter to his Consort, he tells her, he is now well freed from the Place of *base mutinous motions* in his mongrel Parliament. For whom he may justly expect to be chid by her, for suffering her to be vext by them. These base Mutineers were, it seems, the Lords *Dorset, Hopton, Hertford, Lord Clarendon, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir J. Strangeways, Sir J. Culpepper, &c.* Without her Company, say the uxorious Monarch, he can have no Peace or Comfort; no Danger shall make him do any thing unworthy of her Love: A young Beau, smitten by *Cupid*, cannot say finer Words to his Sweet-heart. But to proceed to those, who long after succeeded him.

Queen *Mary* [one of the best of her Sex, perhaps, since *Mary* the blessed Virgin & excepting our incomparable Queen *Coroline*] in 1694, to the Grief of all good Protestants, died; as did her Consort, the Father of his native Country, and ours too, *March 8, 1701*. Jews and Atheists, we know, scoff at that blessed Legacy of Peace which our dying Lord left to his Disciples: Papists and their Jacobite Brethren vilify that inestimable Legacy which our kind Father, King *William*, a little before his Death, left his Posterity: The happy Consequences of which we have seen and felt a whole Reign, and the Beginning of this, and are well assured they will continue as long as the Inheriter of the Father's Crown and royal Virtues, shall govern an obedient People.

Queen *Anne* immediately succeeded King *William*, and was very prosperous whilst she hearkened to her victorious Gene-

General, and wise Treasurer, *Godolphin*: but when she most ungratefully cashier'd these, and took a Snake into her Bosom, [a Man hated by all Parties for Dissimulation and Apostacy] and two more as infamous for Lewdness and Debauchery. A dishonourable and pernicious Peace was made with a vanquish'd old Enemy of our Religion and Nation, and treacherously obtruded on our faithful Allies: The Queen in her Letter to him (*whom, saith Lord Anglesey, I can never think on without Horror, who has made all Christendom one great Aceldama*) begins with, *My Brother*; tells him, his consummate Wisdom had taken the Resolution to fix the Terms of Peace—The consummate Knavery and Treachery of her new Counsellor, *Mortifer*, &c. had put it into the Hands of a conquer'd Enemy to make his own Terms, and give him leave to fall on and murder our Allies at *Denain*, while our doughty General *Ormond* look'd on. Her Conduct of this infamous Peace is truly represented in the following Copy of Verses, the Poetry whereof is so exquisite, as will please an ingenious Reader that has been wearied with so many doleful Relations of what was acted in four successive Reigns. One more remains of what befell our quondam Allies, the *Catalans*, abandon'd by her, and sacrific'd to the Revenge of their King *Philip*, as the Protestant *Rockellers* were, by her Grandfather, to their King *Lewis's* Resentments. *You, Lord Peterborough, may promise in our Name, saith she, a Confirmation of their Rights, &c.* And in their Letter to her Admiral *Wishart*, they tell him, *Their Enemies have thrown 14000 ^{bombs} into Barcelona, committed the most execrable Burnings, &c. with the Effusion of innocent Blood without Distinction of Age or Sex—* Having no other Comfort, we fly to the Queen, imploring her Protection; *We beseech your Excellency from our Souls to meditate with the French, &c.* But alas! instead of relieving her distress'd Friends, he by Direction from *England*, assisted their enraged Enemies. They finding no Relief on Earth, appeal'd to Heaven; hanging up the Queen's Treaty with them on the High-Altar of *Barcelona*; much like the *Turkish* Sultan (tho' not with the like Success) who being first routed in the Field by a *Hungarian* King, [*Huniades* I think] held up towards Heaven the Articles of Peace, which he had violated, invoking the Christians God, on the Perfidiousness of his Worshipper; the King was presently with Shame overthrown.

The poor *Catalans*, in like Manner deserted, were destroyed by Famine, Sword, Executioners Hands, in Dungeons, &c. Their

Their *Quondam Protectores*, was about the same Time harra's'd out of the World by our triumvirate Quarrels about the White-Staff ~~the~~ *August 1st*, you know, was the last Day of her Life, and, as many observed, the last Day on which the Dissenters durst send their Children to a School-Master, whom they thought fittest to teach them the Accidence or Grammar *, the next Day on which the Act (much like the Apostate *Julian's* Edict, which suppress'd the Christians Schools) did commence, she could not live to see. The poor *Catalans* Letter came to her, or *Mortifer*, on or near the Day of her Exit, as appears by the secret Committee's Report, p. 88. It being dated *July 23, 1714*. Again her victorious General returned from his *Exile*, or *Ostracism*, on or very near *August the first*;

*The Day on which our happy Fate
Shall ever take its happy Date.
Bless'd Omen! 'tis the very same,
That gave the Prince his happy Name.*

Augustus.

But tho' his illustrious Father had [as himself hath] a clearer Title to the Crown than any King of *England* or *Scotland* ever had; tho' the Protestant Succession in his renowned Family was settled and confirmed by five Parliaments, compos'd of different Parties and Interests; yet how were the People allarm'd with imaginary Dangers from Pulpits, &c. How did *Oxford* University affront him on his Coronation-day, by giving a Mark of her Favour to a Jacobite, whom he thought fit to remove from a Place of too great Trust for such an Enemy. And again by chusing (of all the Peers in *England*) the Brother of a Traytor, attainted by Parliament, and rejecting his present Majesty for their Chancellor, of whom they had the Offer.

Here it was the Rebellion did actually begin, by their pulling down, or demolishing one or two Meeting-Houses on our late Sovereign's Birth-Day: And while the Rebels went unpunished, some loyal Students, who would have celebrated it without Disturbance, were prosecuted upon Statutes of their own in the Vice-Chancellor's Court. One of those in a Letter to my Friend wrote thus: *The Misdemeanors of this Place*

* An Inhumanity and Violence on *English-Mens* Birthrights, greater than the *French King's* Edict, 1670.

Place are too notorious for me to palliate; but since we were resolved to turn Mad-men, we are highly obliged to his Majesty for putting a Guard upon us. It would have been a deplorable Case, had we been made a Garrison by the Rebels, which we were really within an Ace of, when General Pepper came to our Rescue. It seems the Gross of this learned Body wanted Pepper and Salt too, to keep it from stinking. A sullen Taciturnity held ^{almost} them during this whole Reign. In their Address to King George II. they seem conscious of their Disaffection, and endeavour to excuse it in an odd Manner, by hyperbolical Boasts. Our sagacious King remembers how they serv'd his Father at his Accession, and himself too, and gives them a suitable Answer.

Now and for ever may every good Protestant thank Almighty God, for giving three Nations two Protestant Kings, [and an incomparable Queen] in the collateral, on the happy Extinction of an evil Family in the strait Line.

'Tis indeed remarkable, that all the Sovereigns of this House, and their prime Favourites, came to tragical Ends; Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded for contriving to assassinate Queen Elizabeth; Her Son James was poison'd by—as 'twas said Prince Henry was by—Charles I. beheaded; Charles II. poison'd; James II. died a Royal Almsman, was politically dead before he was inhumed; Queen Anne was hurried out of her Life by her new Favourites. Then as for many of these, Cardinal Beaton, who burnt the Martyr Wiseheart, was kill'd by his intimate Acquaintance; Botwell, Queen Mary's Spark, whom she married after he had murdered the King her Husband, died miserably in Exile; and Seignior David, her other Spark, was murdered by the King; Buckingham, a Darling of two Kings, was stabb'd; Strafford and Laud, two Favourites, as great as Buckingham, were beheaded; Windebank, a professed Papist, yet one of his principal Secretaries of State, and Finch, a prime Court-flatterer, fled from Justice, and died in Exile; the cruel Apostate, Sharp, was murdered in Scotland; Buckingham, the lewd Son of a debauched Father, and Tutor to Charles II. died in Want and Misery; Jeffreys, a Monster of Cruelty, and Executioner General to Charles and James II. hastned his wretched End by Drunkenness, &c. Bishop Carverwright, a wicked Instrument of King James in the High Commission Court, and in turning out the Fellows of Maudlin-College, died miserably, and in Exile, I think; and Charnock his prime Favourite, whom he had made Vice-President of Maudlin, was hang'd for conspiring to assassinate King William. Never had

H any

any Christian Kingdom such supreme and subordinate Governors to rule over Protestants.

Pray tell your Friends and Hearers, Mr. Arch-deacon, that they no longer mock Almighty God, twice a Year in his own House ; but rather in their own, on *August 1st*, yearly thank him for blessing three Nations with a Protestant King, and now his Son and Heir of his Crown and royal Virtues ; and on the 23^d of *October*, yearly, take with you Words out of a 30th of *January* Prayer, *Gracious God ! when thou makest Inquisition for Blood, (not of one Man only, but) of Myriads of Protestants in England, Ireland, and of our Neighbour State ; shed for the Subversion of thy true Religion, and thy Peoples just Liberties ; lay not the Guilt of this innocent Blood to the Charge of the People of this Land ; for thou knowest who of the Princes and Rulers were chief in this Trespass ; who commanded or approved what evil Instruments acted, and who of those were not clear in this Matter.*

And now I address to you, Mr. Arch-deacon, who have publicly reviled many hundred loyal Gentlemen and Ministers, with Disloyalty and Rebellion, which in the next History you may as justly charge on the Dukes of *Devon* and *Leeds*, &c. nay on *Queen Anne*, and the Bishop of *London*, who, when Subjects, join'd together at the Revolution, which you, 'tis true, applaud, and call it *great and happy*. But (as Dr. C. tells you) you in a self-contradicting inconsistent Manner applaud those slavish absurd Principles that would have prevented it effectually. Bishop *Blackall* did the same, but whether he ~~copied~~ copied from you, or you from him, I cannot tell. Take heed Sir, that you who have been so justly blamed for calling that Rebellion, which was no more so, than *David's* taking up Arms against his Sovereign, King *Saul*, that you be no longer of those *that rebel against the Light*. On the other Side, you have commended others of the highest Rank, &c. infamous for the greatest Crimes ; namely, the *Scots*, and our *English Queen Mary*, (your Woman of Probity, Virtue, and Devotion, like that of a Frier in the Inquisition) and our Princes great Favourites, (*the vilest Men whom they exalted*) you commend. If you won't hearken to Friends or Enemies, [*Fas est & ab hoste doceri*] pray, Sir, learn what that meaneth, *He that justifieth the Wicked, and he that condemneth the Just, they both are an Abomination to the Lord*. Dread that Woe denounced on those that call *Evil Good, and Good Evil, that put Darkness for Light, and Light for Darkness*, &c. Think not that your pick'd Words, as you call them, and rhetorical Flourishes, will excuse you more than they

they did the *Irish* Dean, for his malicious Examiners; or prophane witty *Tale of a Tub*; or than *Roger Crackfarr's* villanous Observators. Whether these or your fine Histories have or will do most Mischief, 'tis hard to determine; whatever you think, the two former handled their Pens, and wrote as fine as you. Lord *L.* in the House of Peers said, *Lefrange now disappears, is one of the greatest Villains upon Earth, a Rogue beyond my Skill to delineate, &c.* many sober Protestants think the Dean is not much better. Of Bishop *Sprat*, (who wrote a fine Panegerick on *Oliver Cromwell*, and sat with *Jefferies*, and two Bishops more, in the High Commission Court) your Brother Clergy-man (Author of *King William's Life*) saith, *his eloquent Pen was industriously set to work, to varnish over, and palliate the Flaws of Keeling's and the other Witnesses Depositions.* His Account of the Presbyterian Plot, was adorned with all those Flourishes of Oratory, which are so far from perswading, that they rather give Truth an Air of Fiction: But as Affairs were then managed, a Romance was asfit to serve the Court as a true History—— *Mutato nomine de te——* *Fabula narratur.* Something like what has been said of those three florid Pen-men, may also be said of Dr. *Walker's Vain Attempt*, especially the Preface, in both which are many gross Misrepresentations and Falshoods; particularly in his Stories of Mr. *Standish of Wells*, and Mr. *Cooth of Shepton Mallet*.

I beg your Pardon, Sir, (if it needs any) that I have sometimes alluded to, or cited Scripture Passages; but I hope 'twill excuse me, that I write to a Clergy-man.

Upon all that has been said by so many unprejudiced Persons of what you have published, I ought to tell you plainly, as a Christian, that a publick Christian-like Retraction, (like that of *St. Austin*) of the many Faults you have been charg'd with, is a Debt you owe to the God of Truth, your own Country and Posterity, you will readily pardon the uncorrect Lines of an ancient *Country-Lay-Brother*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

OF your Man of Zeal, Piety, &c. *Laud*, I find this Relation given by a learned loyal Gentleman: "He was born at *Reading*, (and like another prime Minister, *Wolsey*, not half so bad) of poor obscure Parents, in a Cottage; tho' he was *ex foce vulgi* (as well as *fax Britannie*) he was almost as proud as he, but did infinitely more Mischief. In his Diary, written by himself, he boasts, *June*, 1622. *my Lord Duke of Buckingham entered into a nearer Respect to me; the Particulars are not for Paper; fine Stuff no doubt; for to this lewd Minion, Laud saith, he was Confessor. Again, July, I went to my dear Friend Windebank; [the dearer, because a Papist]. A Monster of Pride and Lewdness were his Intimates. The superstitious Bigot next records his silly Dreams. — He saw the Duchess free from her Fears of a Miscarriage: — That one he knew not who, was married: — That the Lords adjourned. So he gravely observes, 'twas Urban's Day, and that Urban was Pope. That two Robin-red-breasts flew into his Study, pursuing one another; but he let 'em out as they enter'd in; wonderful! Feb. 7. I dream'd I was sick of the Scurvey; so he was, in reality, for thirty Years, till the Ax happily cured him. Again, F. F. began the Cure of a certain Itch — for a Union with Rome, which he so much desired, or to be made a Cardinal. Oct. 30. I put on a Truss for a Rupture: A fatal Rupture follow'd it, which he began in England, and between England and Scotland. He dwells within a Stone's cast of her: The Bishop now grows waggish, the Truss and his Testicles were contiguous: So he goes on. O come and kiss me, Archdeacon! Et quota est W-hora, Parson. Whether the Bishop or his Archdeacon had the Mistress is not very clear: The waggish Fit being past, the prophane succeeds: Who gave you these Breeches? My Godfathers and Godmothers — Jonas in a Quail's Belly? that's a little Bird, the Miracle is the greater. I Dod, how doth your Uncle? Very ill on the Commandments. Much better than this impious Bishop and his Chaplain Heylin, who notoriously broke the Fourth Commandment, by their prophane May-games and Morris-dances on the Lord's Days. The Boy said to his Father, your Gods fiddle. Were these, and
 " more*

" more such *Ludicra*, voided by a Protestant Bishop, a pos-
 " tended Martyr, or the Excrements of a Buffoon or Atheist?
 " At the Consecration of *St. Creed's Church* (as may be seen,
 " *Hist. Col.* 2. p. 64.) he acted as many astick Tricks as
 " would make a splenetick Man laugh, or seriously to say,
 " surely the spiritual Man is mad. He takes up the Dust
 " from the Ground, and flings it up in the Air several times;
 " cursing those that should prophane it by Burdens, prophane
 " Law Courts, &c. Were not then his, and Bishop *Wren's*
 " Ecclesiastic-Law Courts * deservedly curs'd by him, where
 " many hundred conscientious Protestants were cruelly vex'd
 " and ruined for a whole Reign almost? The Play goes on;
 " seven times he bow'd, and like a Mass-Priest busied about
 " his Wafers, &c. flew one or two Steps backward and for-
 " ward, *St. Francis* or *St. Dominick* were not more super-
 " stitious or fanatical than him.

" *The Commons of England* (those grave and discerning
 " Persons, says Lord *Clarendon*) voted him a Traytor, and
 " sent Lord *Hollis* to impeach him. By the many Articles
 " exhibited, saith a famous Patriot, it is apparent his Treasons
 " equal, if not exceed any of his Predecessors, in the darkest
 " Mists of Popery. Like Archbishop *Austin*, he has endea-
 " vour'd to raise a bloody Civil War between England and
 " Scotland, &c. *Toa*, 'tis evident he is the *Primum Mobile*,
 " whence all our late Wars and Divisions, and the Spring
 " whence all our insupportable Grievances in Church and
 " State have proceeded. We are fallen, saith the loyal *Grin-*
 " *ston*, on Archbishop *Land*, the Scourge of all the pestilential
 " Filth that has infected the State, &c. He advanced those,
 " who, with himself, were the Authors of all the Miseries
 " we groan under. He brought in the Popish Secretary,
 " *Windebank*, and all the Popish Prelates. Like a busy,
 " angry Wasp, his Sting is in the Tail of every Thing. *Abi*.
 " Speaker, he hath been and is the common Enemy of all
 " Goodness and good Men; and it is not safe that such a
 " Viper should be near his Majesty's Person, to distil his
 " Poyson into his sacred Ears. He is the very Broker and
 " Pander to the Whore of Babylon. Much more was said by
 " them against this Incendiary; but still they knew who

* Archbishop *Grindal* and Bishop *Horn*, in their Letter to *Bulling*
 say, that they did openly, and would still inveigh against the Abuses
 of their Courts, till they should be sent back to Hell, from whence
 they came. *Hist. of Ref.*

“ was the Principal, and who cherished the Viper while he
 “ distill’d his Poyson. From such Princes, such Priests, Prime
 “ Ministers and Privy-Counsellors, good Lord deliver us, and
 “ every Protestant Nation.

I well remember, that a late House of Commons, in the
 Preamble of their *Constitutional Conformist Bill*, say, *As nothing*
is more contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion,
and to the Doctrine of the Church of England, than Persecu-
tion for Conscience only, &c. Whether ’tis contrary to her
 Doctrine or not I am not so sure; certain it is, Persecution
 was her Practice in four successive Reigns, chiefly carried on
 by four Archbishops. *The Cruelty and Tyranny of the Bi-*
shops, especially of Archbishop Whitgift, saith our Historian,
struck out so many Lights in divers Places; where old Mas-
Priests, scarce able to read distinctly, did officiate; nay,
many of the Clergy, who had been bitter Persecutors in
Queen Mary’s bloody Reign, were continued in their Livings,
and permitted to persecute Protestants now in a Protestant
Reign. In the next, *Bancroft* (whose Morals were said to
 be bad) and his Bishops, with their new-invented Canons,
 furiously batter’d many Churches, out of which they drove
 Protestant Ministers, and cruelly vexed more. In the next
 Reign, Archbishop *Laud’s* Persecutions were much longer,
 and more cruel, against Ministers and other Protestants, than
 all the foregoing. Archbishop *Sheldon* succeeded in *Charles*
Second’s Reign, who, with other Bishops, procured a Law to
 turn out of their Livings and Livelihoods about 2000 Con-
 scientious Ministers; and afterwards he and *Ward*, &c. ob-
 tain’d the Statute of *Omri*, which banished them from their
 Homes and Families; and by other Laws and Ecclesiastic
 Courts were they vex’d and harrassed above twenty Year,
 whilst they suffered Papists and Debauchees to live unmo-
 lested. But Thanks be to God, a good King and Parlia-
 ment, who put an End (for ever we hope) to those Barba-
 rities. *Yet still Men may be Persecutors, though not able to*
persecute any longer, saith Bishop B——; for our Saviour
 charged the Guilt of intended Sins on those who never acted
 them: They who did approve, or were pleased with those
 Persecutions, and would (God knows) if they were able, act
 the same over again, are Partakers of other Mens Sins, and
 perhaps as culpable as the *Actors*. Would to God such Men
 would well consider what the Spirit and Tenor of the Gospel
 is; and next, what an excellent Author says in that disputable
 Point of persecuting Men for Conscience sake: *Besides the im-*
bittering your Minds with Hatred, Indignation, and all the
Vehement

Veheemence of Resentment, and ensnaring them to profess what they do not believe, we cut them off from the Pleasures and Advantages of Society, afflict their Bodies, distress their Fortunes, hurt their Reputations, ruin their Families, make their Lives painful, or put an End to them: Sure when I see such dreadful Consequences, I would be as fully convinc'd of the Truth of it, as of a Mathematical Demonstration, before I would venture to act upon it, or make it a Part of my Religion. The Injury done my Neighbour is evident; the Principle which puts me on it, at best, dubious. If our Religion produces Charity as well as Zeal, it will not shew it self in such cruel Instances. To conclude; we have just enough Religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another. More to the same Purpose he has said.

On Queen Anne's Statue at the West End of
St. Paul's Church.

*Near to the sacred and immortal Frame,
That bears the Gentiles great Apostle's Name,
In Form majestick Anna seem'd to rise,
And lift her Shoulders to the distant Skies;
Below with Awe, four mighty Nations meet,
To worship and do Homage at her Feet;
And as beneath the Marble Weight they stand,
Britannia, Ireland, and the New-found-land,
Joyful appear, and feel their Burden light,
While gazing at her Eyes they feed their Sight;
But France alone with down-cast Look is seen
The sad Spectator of so good a Queen;
Ungrateful Country, to forget so soon
All that great Anna for thy Sake had done,
When sworn the kind Supporter of thy Cause,
Spite of her dear Religion, spite of Laws;
For thee she sheath'd her long victorious Sword;
For thee she broke her General and her Word;
For thee her Will in doubtful Words she told,
And learn'd to speak like Oracles of old;
For thee she cut the Cable of her State,
Gave to the Winds * to blow, the Waves to beat;*

For

* Ventis & verba dedisti. Ovid.

For this, for this state could we have
 The loss the Honour we had gain'd before,
 Such as no British Monarch ever bore,
 Disclaim'd the Victories her Arms had won
 Such Caesar never saw, nor Philip's Son
 Resign'd the Glories of a ten-years Reign,
 And such as none but Marlborough's Arms could gain
 For thee in Annals we content to shine,
 Like former Monarchs of the Stuart Line.

† Forty-two Towns taken, near half of them given away at
 and ten pitch'd Battles gain'd.

F I N I S

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